National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

LETTER FROM REV. THEODORE CLAPP.

Correspondence of the N. O. Picayune.

BRIDGEWATER, MASS., May 22, 1854.

I CAN hardly realize the distance of this place from New Orleans, having been wafted here in so short a time and as quietly as if I had been seated at home in my study. All the way from Mobile to New York, the waters were smooth and placid, resembling Lake Pontochartrain when reposing in the calm beauty of a summer's sunset. Contrary to general experience, when passing Cape Hatteras, even, the elements were lulled, and the undulation of the water scarcely perceptible.

We reached the Moro, at Havana, but a moment after the sun was down, and, though the twilight afforded ample space to enter the harbour and effect a landing, we were compelled to cast anchor and remain outside till next mroning. In consequence of this unnecessary detention, we were deprived of the pleasure of going on shore to visit the city. Eighty passengers were added to our company at this place, consisting mostly of Spanish gentlemen with their entire families, whose chief motive in leaving home, I was told, is to escape the political troubles which are expected to prevail more or less in Cuba the approaching summer. Several American gentlemen who have lived many years in Havana say that a great panic exists throughout the whole population of the island. It is the universal belief among them that the Spanish Government intends speedily to manumit their slaves; to subject Cuba to African domination and all the horrors which now desolate St. Domingo and Jamaica. Mr. Robertson, our acting Consul, told me that every steamer from the North was crowded with families of foreign merchants and Creoles, from various parts of the interior, professedly departing for the United States and Europe in pursuit of health or recreation, but in reality fleeing from their homes to escape the utter destruction of all that is dear to man on earth—life, liberty, subsistence and social happiness. The Government has declared in writing that the absolute equality of the white and black races is an essential doctrine of the Christian religion. In taking this ground they are supported, as is alleged, by the bishops and priests of the Roman Catholic Church in Cuba. The Captain General is authorized by Spain to declare the immediate abolition of Slavery, in case the United States or the fillibusters should attempt to take the island. It is also believed that the emancipation of the slaves is resolved on at any rate, though our own country should scrupulously avoid interfering in behalf of the Cubans, who seem destined to be ruined by the follies of a treacherous and tyrannical Government.

A well informed American gentleman, who has spent the last two winters in Cuba, came with us to New York. He thinks that the fate of the island will be decided before January next, and that self-preservation—the first law of nature and of nations—calls upon our Government to interpose, in her beneficence and majesty, to thwart the nefarious purposes of Spain and Great Britain. This is a consummation which the Cubans themselves are fervently praying for. To me it is self-evident that this matter has most portentous bearings upon the welfare and glory of the Southern States in our Union. If Cuba is converted into an African Republic, it will expose to indescribable peril the vital interests of Louisiana, and the adjoining portions of this Confederacy. Of all the delusions that prevail in this day, the idea of the immediate emancipation of our slaves is, perhaps, the most monstrous and alarming. It involves a policy directly at war with the dictates of true philanthropy, sound morals, the highest civilization and the sublimest principles of our holy religion. I pen these words in the vicinity of Boston, of the spot where I drew my first breath, and almost within sight of the Bunker Hill Monument. And I claim to be inspired with a love of freedom as pure and ardent, if not as enlightened, as that which warmed the bosoms of the fathers, who laid down their lives to achieve our national independence. It is my sincere prayer that the Africans among us should enjoy all the blessings of which they are capable. The bondage in which they are now held is their salvation. To attempt to promote their freedom by emancipation would just be as absurd as for the people of Massachusetts to abolish their admirable systems of civil and criminal law, and expect the superior prevalence of peace and order, by leaving every person to do just what he might please with impunity. I am a clergyman, and do not profess to comprehend the political questions of the day, nor to possess the right in the *name of Almighty God* to command Congress not to pass a certain law, though they may look upon it as just, wise, necessary and most expedient. I do not concur with the Northern pulpit, in assuming to be superior to the civil government, and to exercise a paternal control over it. Let the parsons preach the Gospel, and politicians make the laws. But I hope it will not seem out of character to express a fervent wish that the people of the United States will not allow Cuba—the most beautiful gem of the Antilles—to be surrendered into the hands of barbarians, and to become a receptacle for pirates, thieves, radicals, Abolitionists, disorganizers and come-outers of every tongue, complexion, kindred and nation. If they do permit such a catastrophe, when it is in their power to prevent it, most disastrous will be the consequences to this glorious Republic, and to the hopes of the final exaltation of our entire race to the enjoyment of intelligence, freedom and happiness.

I reached this place on Saturday last. The spring is blooming in all her sweetest smiles, where three weeks ago the nakedness and deformity of winter held universal sway. The magnitude and suddenness of the change surpass the power of imagination. From the window where I am writing I look out upon a horizon presenting a complete assemblage of the most beautiful objects in nature—grass, flowers, shrubs, trees, gardens, orchards in the fulness of blossom, rich pastures where animals are grazing; verdant meadows, fertile vales, hills rounded into forms of unutterable elegance, interspersed with the varied productions of art—school-houses, churches, villas, tombs and manufactories. By a single glance of the eye I take in copious draughts of all that can gratify the soul by the finest variations of colour, gracefulness of figure and motion in ever varying, innumerable forms of beauty. It is heaven to gaze on a scene so resplendent with the display of a Creator's power and benignity. To me it is a most impressive fact, that this loveliness is bestowed upon all, irrespective of moral character, both good and bad. So will it be in a future state. The great Father will never hide from his children the light of his love, nor take from them the means of advancement in knowledge and virtue on account of guilt and unworthiness; neither in this nor any other world. Were he to act thus, he would cease to be a Parent and become an infinite Demon. I have not seen my native State in spring before for thirty-seven years. My feelings are awakened and raised to the highest pitch. I behold once more, as they appeared in early life, my first home, the scenes and companions of childhood and youth, the relatives and friends that have bidden me the final farewell; and thank God for the certainty that I shall meet them again in that spirit-land, where no separation, no sin nor sorrow will be permitted to cast their dark shadows upon the successive scenes and ages of an unwasting eternity. My health is slightly improved, and I have good hopes touching its restoration. My most cordial salutations to the many friends in New Orleans who have sent me to wander this summer for my health. To them I am in debt, under God, for the chief temporal blessings which I possess or hope to enjoy this side of the grave. Most truly yours,

T. CLAPP.

THE ABOLITIONISTS' ANNIVERSARY IN NEW YORK.—This annual gathering of ranting fanatics and designing demagogues took place at Mr. Chapin's church, in Broadway, New York, on the 10th inst. Lloyd Garrison presided as usual, and let off his usual half hour of slang-abang, and was followed by a preacher named Furness, from Philadelphia, who made a speech of singular stupidity. Garrison then apologized for the absence of Theodore Parker, who had gone to a funeral. So a negro was the next speaker, and he talked his half hour, during which he expressed his hearty approbation of the play of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," as performed at Barnum's Museum. Then Garrison got up and abused John Mitchel a little; after which he made an apology for the absence of Lucy Stone, who was staying at home, taking care of her mother. Next, Wendell Phillips, of Boston, came to the rescue, but his speech was singularly tame in comparison with his outpourings of former years. He abused Daniel Webster and Edward Everett with something of his usual malignity, and was awfully severe on poor Mitchel. Abby Kelly made a most Xantippian onslaught upon the church and the clergy, which, considering that she was speaking in a church, was not so ladylike in Abby. After some more such skimble-skamble stuff, the pow-wow broke up and no harm done.—*N. O. Picayune.*

Selections.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS OPPOSED TO THE NEBRASKA BILL.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, June 21.

At a meeting of the Members of Congress who opposed the passage of the bill to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, held, pursuant to previous notice, in the City of Washington, on the 20th day of June instant, Hon. SOLOMON FOOT, of Vermont, was elected Chairman, and Hon. DANIEL MACE, of Indiana, and Hon. REUBEN E. FENTON, of New York, were appointed Secretaries.

A Committee, appointed for the purpose, reported an Address to the People of the United States, which, having been discussed and amended, was unanimously adopted and ordered to be published.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The eighth section of the act for the admission of Missouri into the Union, known as the Missouri Compromise law, by which the introduction of Slavery into the regions now known as Kansas and Nebraska was forever prohibited, has been repealed. That law which, in 1820, quieted a controversy which menaced the Union, and upon which you have so long reposed, is obliterated from the statute book. We had no reason to expect any such proposition when we assembled here six months ago, nor did you expect it. No State, no citizen of any State, had demanded the repeal. It seems a duty we owe to the country to state the grounds upon which we have steadfastly, though ineffectually, opposed this alarming and dangerous act.

You need not be told that the Slavery question lies at the bottom of it. As it was the slaveholding power that demanded the enactment of the Missouri Compromise, so it is the same power that has now demanded its abrogation.

African Slavery was regarded and denounced as a great evil, by the American Colonies even before the Revolution, and those Colonies, which are now slaveholding States, were equally earnest in such remonstrances with those which are now free States. Colonial laws, framed to prevent the increase of Slavery, were vetoed by the King of Great Britain. This exercise of arbitrary power to enlarge and perpetuate a system universally regarded as equally wrongful in itself and injurious to the Colonies, was one of the causes of the Revolution. When the war was ended, there was an imperious necessity for the institution of some government in the then unoccupied Territories of the United States. In 1784, Jefferson proposed, and in 1787 the Continental Congress adopted, the Ordinance for the government of the territory lying northwest of the Ohio, by which it was declared that there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime. The great and flourishing States since organized within that Territory, on the basis of that ordinance, are enduring monuments of the wisdom of the Statesmen of the Revolution.

The foreign Slave trade was regarded as the source of American Slavery, which it was believed would be dried up, when that fountain should be closed. In adopting the Constitution, it was so universally anticipated that the foreign Slave trade would be promptly prohibited, that all parties acquiesced in a stipulation postponing that measure till 1808. The foreign Slave trade was prohibited—thus the source of Slavery was understood to be dried up, while the introduction of Slavery into the Territories was prohibited. The Slavery question, so far as it was a National one, was understood to be finally settled, and at the same time the States had already taken up, and were carrying forward, a system of gradual emancipation. In 1803, Louisiana was acquired by purchase from France, and included what is now known as the States of Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, and Iowa, and the Territories known as Kansas and Nebraska. Slavery existed at the time in New Orleans and at St. Louis, and so this purchase resulted in bringing the Slavery question again before Congress. In 1812, the region immediately surrounding New Orleans applied for admission into the Union under the name of the State of Louisiana, with a Constitution tolerating Slavery, and the free States acquiesced. Eight years afterwards, the region connected with St. Louis demanded admission under the name of the State of Missouri, with a Constitution tolerating Slavery. The free States reverted to the principle of 1787, and opposed the admission of Missouri unless she would incorporate into her Constitution an inhibition of the further introduction of Slavery into the State. The slaveholding States insisted upon her unqualified admission. A controversy arose which was sectional and embittered, and which we are assured, by cotemporaneous history, seriously imperilled the Union. The statesmen of that day in Congress settled the controversy by Compromise. By the terms of this Compromise the free States assented to the admission of Missouri with her slaveholding Constitution, while the slaveholding States on their part yielded the exclusion of Slavery in all the residue of the territory which lay north of 36 deg. 30 min., constituting the present territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The slaveholding States accepted the Compromise as a triumph, and the free States have ever since left it undisturbed and unquestioned. Arkansas, a part of the territory of Louisiana, which lay south of 36 deg. 30 min., in compliance with an implication which was contained in this compromise, was afterwards admitted as a slaveholding State, and the free States acquiesced. In 1819, Florida, a slaveholding Province of Spain, was acquired. This Province was afterwards admitted as a slaveholding State. The free States again acquiesced. In 1845, Texas, an independent slaveholding State, was annexed, with a provision in the article of annexation for the subdivision of her territory into five States. The free States, although they regarded the annexation, with the probable increase of the number of slave States, with very great disfavour, nevertheless acquiesced again. New Territories were acquired by the treaty of peace which closed the war with Mexico. The people of California formed a Constitution inhibiting Slavery, and applied for admission into the Union. Violent opposition was made by the slave States in and out of Congress, threatening the dissolution of the Union if California should be admitted. Proceeding on the ground of these alarms, Congress adopted another Compromise, the terms of which were, that ten million dollars of the people's money should be given to Texas to induce her to relinquish a very doubtful claim upon an inconsiderable part of New Mexico—that New Mexico and Utah should be organized without an inhibition of Slavery, and that they should be afterwards admitted as slave or free States, as the people, when forming Constitutions, should determine; that the public Slave trade in the District of Columbia should be abolished, without affecting the existence of Slavery in the District, and that new and rigorous provisions for the recapture of fugitive slaves, of disputed constitutionality, should be adopted, and that on these conditions California should be admitted as a free State. Repugnant as this Compromise was to the people of the free States, acquiescence was nevertheless practically obtained by means of solemn assurances, made on behalf of the slaveholding States, that the Compromise was and should be forever regarded as a final adjustment of the Slavery question and of all the issues which could possibly arise out of it. A new Congress convened in December, 1851. Representatives from the slave States demanded a renewed pledge of fidelity to this adjustment, and it was granted by the House of Representatives in the following terms:

"Resolved, That we recognise the binding efficacy of the compromises of the Constitution, and believe it to be the intention of the people generally, as we hereby declare it to be ours individually, to abide by such compromises and sustain the laws necessary to carry them out, the provisions for the delivery of fugitive slaves and the act of the last Congress for that purpose included, and that we deprecate all further agitation of questions embraced in the acts of the last Congress known as the Compromise, and of questions generally connected with the institution of Slavery, as unnecessary, useless and dangerous."

A few months subsequently, the Democratic National Convention met, at Baltimore, and, assuming to speak the sentiments of the Democratic party, set forth in its platform that the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or colour the attempt may be made. Soon afterwards, another National Convention assembled in the same city, and, assuming the right to declare the sentiments of the Whig party, said: "We deprecate all further agitation of the questions thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever or however made." The present Administration was elected on the principle of adherence to this compromise, and the President, referring to it in his inaugural speech, declared that the harmony which had been secured by it should not be disturbed during his term of office. The President, recurring to the same subject, renewed his pledge, in his message to Congress at the beginning of the present session, in the following language:

"But, notwithstanding differences of opinion and sentiments which there existed in relation to details and specific provisions, the acquiescence of distinguished citizens, whose devotion to the Union can never be doubted, has given renewed vigour to our institutions, and restored a sense of repose and security to the public mind throughout the Confederacy. That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have the power to avert it, those who placed me here may be assured."

Under these circumstances, the proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise was suddenly and unexpectedly made by the same Committee on Territories, which only ten days before had affirmed the sanctity of the Missouri Compromise, and declared the end of agitation in the following explicit and unmistakable language:

"Your Committee do not feel themselves called upon to enter into a discussion of those controverted questions. They involve the same grave issues which produced the agitation, the sectional strife, and the fearful struggle of 1850. As Congress deemed it wise and prudent to refrain from deciding the matters in controversy *then*, either by affirming or repealing the Mexican laws, or by an act declaratory of the true intent of the Constitution, and the extent of the protection afforded by it to slave property in the Territories, so your Committee are not prepared *now* to recommend a departure from the course pursued upon that memorable occasion, either by *affirming* or *repealing* the eighth section of the Missouri act, or by any act declaratory of the meaning of the Constitution in respect to the legal points in dispute."

The abrogation has been effected in pursuance of the demands of the Administration itself and by means of its influence on Congress. In the House of Representatives, that body which is more immediately responsible to the people, the contest was more equal than in the Senate, though it is due to justice and candour that it should be stated that it could not have been carried in either House without the votes of the representatives from the free States. The minority resisted the attempts to arrest discussion upon this grave question, through a struggle of longer duration than any other known to Congressional history. Some attempt was made to stigmatize that minority as "factionists," yet we fearlessly declare that throughout the contest they resorted solely to the powers secured to them by the law and the rules of the House, and the passage of the measure through the House was effected through a subversion of its rules by the majority, and the exercise of a power unprecedented in the annals of Congressional legislation. The deed is done. It is done with a clear proclamation by the Administration and by Congress that the principle which it contains extends not only to Kansas and Nebraska, but to all the other Territories now belonging to the United States, and to all which may hereafter be acquired. It has been done unnecessarily and wantonly, because there was no pressure for the organization of Governments in Kansas and Nebraska, neither of which Territories contained one lawful inhabitant who was a citizen of the United States, and because there was not only no danger of disunion apprehended, but by this reckless measure the free States have lost all the guarantee for freedom in the Territories contained in former compromises, while all the States, both slave and free, have lost the guarantees of harmony and union which those compromises afforded. It seems plain to us that, fatal as the measure is in these respects, it is only a cover for broader propagandism of Slavery in the future. The object of the Administration, and of the many who represent the slave States, is, as we believe, to prepare the way for annexing Cuba at whatever cost, and a like annexation of half a dozen of the States of Mexico, to be admitted also as slave States. These acquisitions are to be made peaceably if they can be purchased at the cost of hundreds of millions. If they cannot be made peacefully, then at the cost of a war with Mexico, and a war with Spain, and a war with England, and a war with France, and at the cost of an alliance with Russia scarcely less repugnant. Unmistakable indications, also, appear of a purpose to annex the eastern part of San Domingo, and so to subjugate the whole island, restoring it to the dominion of Slavery—and this is to be followed up by an alliance with Brazil and the extension of Slavery in the valley of the Amazon. It is for you to judge whether, when Slavery shall have made these additions to the United States, it will demand unconditional submission on the part of the free States, and, failing in that demand, attempt a withdrawal of the slave States and the organization of a separate empire in the central region of the continent. From an act so unjust and wrongful in itself, and fraught with consequences so fearful, we appeal to the people. We appeal in no sectional spirit. We appeal equally to the North and to the South, to the free States and to the slaveholding States themselves. It is no time for exaggeration or for passion, and we therefore speak calmly of the past, and warn you, in sober seriousness, of the future. It would not become us, nor is it necessary, to suggest the measures which ought to be adopted in this great emergency. For ourselves, we are ready to do all that shall be in our power to restore the Missouri Compromise, and to execute such further measures as you in your wisdom shall command, and as may be necessary for the recovery of the ground lost to Freedom, and to prevent the further aggressions of Slavery.

SOLOMON FOOT, Chairman.

DANIEL MACE, REUBEN E. FENTON, } Secretaries.

The meeting was fully attended, and the Address is indorsed by all the Anti-Nebraska members of Congress.

VOLUNTEER CATCHPOLES.

TASTES differ, and we can understand how, in meat, drink, and other sensual matters, individuals can be found to like what the majority of mankind loathes. But how any man can volunteer to hunt fugitive negroes is what we cannot comprehend. The office of hangman has never been thought a very pleasant one; but between putting the rope round the neck or the wrists of the victim, we think the comparative honour is in the former process, because strangulation does send a man out of his misery at once, while the "extradition," as they politely term it, is only the commencement of a life of suffering. It is said that somebody must execute the law. So somebody must do other dirty and menial offices, but it does not follow that gentlemen should jostle each other to engage in them. It is not with the act itself, but the actors, that we quarrel; for, of course, while there are disagreeable duties, there will be disagreeable people to perform them.

It may be a pleasing thing to stand well with the administration at Washington—it may bring place, praise and pennies; but how any man can be willing to purchase Pierce's offices and telegraphic commendations at such a price is a marvel. Party is to some eyes the most important thing in life; but if a man must be wedded to it, body, soul and spirit, why not select a respectable object of his affections? And if one itch for office and for a little brief authority must be assuaged in any other way, instead of seeking to be commissioners or marshals, why not struggle to be captain of an engine company, or a member of the school committee?

We were led into this train of reflection by seeing in the papers that somebody has been trying to do a certain U. S. Commissioner of Boston a service by repeating falsely—certainly not maliciously—that he had avowed his intention of giving no more warrants in fugitive slave cases. Mr. Commissioner resents this rumour as an attempt to injure him in his business, and goes to all the respectable editors and asks them to contradict a story that may take five or ten dollars out of his pocket at any time. Mr. Commissioner, in fact, advertises that the business of warrant-making is carried on at the old stand, and that orders from Virginia will be promptly attended to. The old original Commissioner is in the business still, and the public is warned against interlopers who are circulating false reports in order to injure his trade. We do not say that this is reducing the law to the level of huckstering—we wouldn't do the huckster such injustice—but we do say that a man must be a very public creature whose passion for public service is not restrained by considerations too obvious to be mentioned.—*New Bedford Mercury.*

THE MOB IN BOSTON.

A MOB is a madness, and must be treated as a madness. For the furiously insane we must have straight-jackets, and for rioters bullets and bayonets. There can be no malice in restraining the one, and there ought to be none in suppressing the other. But no considerations of the necessity of law, no love of the public peace, can blind us to the obvious duty of severing the motive from the mob. We cannot and will not forget that these wild men, who are defying the restraints which in ordinary times are submitted to with perfect grace, may have been provoked by wrong and injury. There is no possible good that can warrant a mob, simply because no mob can result in any possible good. But behind the fever and folly of the hour, there may be incitements for which the rioters are not responsible. A good cause is not a whit the worse for having bad defenders; and if congresses and cabinets trample upon justice, and discard policy, and ignore prudence, we are not to be prevented from characterizing their action as it deserves, because it has driven the unthinking and unreasoning into unreasonable and illegal proceedings. Forty mobs in Boston will not make the Nebraska bill anything but a folly and a falsehood. On the contrary, we add to its demerits these subsequent outrages for which it is responsible, and we thus increase the aggregate of its absurdity and injustice.

The recent emeute in Boston has stimulated the talkers about law and order to an unusual extent. Nothing makes certain creatures more suddenly and strongly loyal than the prospect of a slave-hunt. Fellows who have been breaking the public peace all their lives, and who were never before distinguished for good citizenship, become, all at once, the volunteer scouts of catchpoles, the champions of the courts, the servants of servants, the body-guards of constables. It is time to expose this palpable nonsense, which can deceive nobody except those who are timorous by nature or have grown so through old age. Nobody will accuse this journal of pandering to the passions of the mob or of hostility to the public peace. Sensible men will not misconstrue what we say when we declare our honest opinion that nine-tenths of this talk about preserving the public peace is mere gag and gammon. And what we say we mean to prove.

Abstractly considered, one law is as good as another, and no one statute is entitled to especial honour and respect. The gentlemen within whose bosoms the passion of loyalty burns so brightly ought not to pick and choose; but if they are sincere in their attachment to the law, they have no business to select a single one as the object of their affection. Their theory is, that whatever gets into the statute book is thereby rendered sacred, but their practice is to have their favourites, and to compound for breaches they are inclined to by damning those they have no mind to. The Court House in Boston, during the last week, has been the head-quarters of volunteer defenders of law—gentlemen who gave their time and their reputation as free-will offerings upon the altar of the Constitution. But have these knight-errants of order been themselves without shame and without reproach? Alas! we regret to say that patriotism is a very thirsty business, and the chevaliers who shuddered with horror at the bare idea of the escape of poor Burns, found it a very pleasant thing to moisten their loyal clay at the opposite eating house, in defiance of the Maine Liquor Law! They marched in squads to assist in the violation of one of the best-known statutes of the State, and did not once cough at treason when it was washed down with brandy and water. When was any one of this band of law-lovers deterred by the statute from riding out with his wife or his mistress on Sunday? And which one of them, provided he loved tobacco as well as the Constitution, failed to indulge in his cigar as he returned home through the streets of Boston, and to puff his illegal smoke in the very face and eyes of Justice herself!

But if we turn from the men in Boston to their masters in Washington, we do not find this passion for law and order any less discriminating. The President of the United States is in such a hurry to say how much he is shocked by the riot, that he pollutes the element which a Franklin discovered, by employing it as the medium of his grief and indignation. He sends word to the man, misnamed Freeman, that all the money and muskets of the United States are at his service! Who has forgotten that for weeks the city of Erie was the scene of one of the most disgraceful mobs on record, and that Franklin Pierce could hardly be kicked into an interference to restore peace?

Our Southern friends too are very violent in their love of order and of law, and hang over the venerable old body of the Constitution as if they had never jibed at it nor jeered it. Innocent souls! they forget that a mob drove Samuel Hoar from Charleston—that a mob murdered Lovejoy at Alton—that a mob flogged Dresser in the streets of Nashville—that a mob drove Mr. Simmons from his pulpit at Savannah—that a mob broke open the mail bags of the United States and destroyed the contents—that the Legislature of Georgia offered a price for the head of a citizen of Massachusetts—that, at this moment, a Northern man who speaks plainly what all the world believes, in certain Southern sections of the country, puts not only his liberty but his life in jeopardy at the hands of the very men who now talk the most loudly about the sanctity of the law and the sacred provisions of the Constitution!

We have thus shown this loyalty, of which just now we hear so much, to be only skin-deep. Divested of all its clap-trap and catch-words, this love of law means only love of the Fugitive Slave law. It has its origin not in a deeply-rooted attachment to the State, but in an overweening appetite for what the State can dispense. It is stimulated not by a passion for order, but by a prejudice against colour. It is not a patriotic but a party feeling. At the South it is a selfish desire to make the policy, legislation, practice of the country all subservient to the interests of Slavery. With presidents and prime ministers it is only an itch for nominations and renominations, for elections and re-elections. With Northern men—so called—it is partly a love of business, and partly a love of beef. The merchant avows it that he may sell his goods, and the blackleg that he may fill his belly. It is not Egypt that he cares for, but the flesh pots of Egypt—not the Court House, but the fat things at Parker's, opposite the Court House. It is all a sham and a delusion; as such it is fit only for ridicule and contempt, which no one will bestow upon it more lavishly than the real lover of good order and sound government.—*Ibid.*

OUR DUTY.

THE people of Massachusetts hate the Fugitive Slave Law. They are inexpressibly shocked whenever it is executed. Many of them regard it as no law at all—almost all of them as a bad one. The feeling is a natural one. In the first place we are free, and we hate Slavery. In the second place this is a law which makes Slavery still more odious, because its provisions are cruel, and dangerous to civil liberty, because it denies the right of trial by jury, because it virtually suspends the writs of habeas corpus and personal replevin, because it takes away from our own courts the power to protect our own citizens, because it is so cunningly devised that freemen may be captured by its process and carried into bondage, and because it increases the power of the General Government to vex and harrass the inhabitants of a sovereign State.

And as this law is mean and cruel, the people have come to think that only mean and cruel men can be concerned in its enforcement. We regard those who willingly engage in such a base business with suspicion and distrust. We say that if these are necessary offices, they are also noisome ones, fit only for hands already polluted and hearts already hardened. The filthy business of this world must be performed; somebody must care for the base, low, gross, grovelling wants of society; if the Constitution says "kidnap!" somebody must do it, just as somebody must drive the dead cart in cities bowed beneath the pestilence. By a wise provision of nature there are corrupt creatures to meet the necessities of corruption—there are scavenger souls as well as sublime ones. In the streets of certain cities, dirt of all kinds would accumulate with a rapidity fatal to the public health, did not Providence send flocks of carrion birds to carry it off. Cleanliness is good—health is good—but no honourable man wants to be a carrion bird. The Fugitive Slave Law may be good, and "extradition" necessary for the national welfare—but who wants to hunt negroes, sever families, and blast the little happiness of the humble?

We believe the people of Massachusetts feel that individuals who are willing to do this are not fit to serve them in any other office. 'Tis all a matter of taste and of personal character. The people have a right to consult taste and estimate character in selecting their servants. If Mr. Edward G. Loring pleases to issue slave warrants, to preside in slave pens, to convert men into personal goods, to be the servant of slave-hunters, he has a right to do it all; but, on the other hand, if the people think that Mr. Loring, being of such a mind and such a nature, is not fit to be the judge of a court in which the rights and injuries of widows and orphans are cared for by law, then the people have a right to drive Mr. Loring from the bench, and to make him constitutionally incapable of again holding the office. In such a procedure, we take it there would be no treason to the United states, but only loyalty to Massachusetts.

The well known Latimer Law, passed several years ago, prohibited the officers of this Commonwealth from assisting in the capture of fugitive slaves. We now find that the law is not sufficient. Let us have one that is! Let the public servants of this Commonwealth be compelled altogether to refrain from such a business! Let the United States find other functionaries to perform these disagreeable duties! Never fear but they will find enough to do them, for the gold of the treasury is potent, and the race of mercenaries perennial. Such men as Watson Freeman, Ben Hallett, and Ben True, are proud of the business—why should it be inflicted upon men who are capable of better things?—*Ibid.*

From The Boston Courier.

BOSTON, June 7, 1854.

To the Editor of the New Bedford Mercury.

SIR: An exceedingly offensive article of an editorial form, in your paper of the 1st instant, has been sent to me, through the post office, by an illiterate and anonymous correspondent, who states that an old friend of mine volunteered to pay the postage on his communication. The article does not refer to me by name, but the facts make it sufficiently apparent that you intended to refer to me, and to apply to me the gross epithets which you saw fit to employ. The article is as follows:

[Here follows an article from the *Mercury*, entitled "Volunteer Catchpoles," which characterized the course of a certain Commissioner in announcing, in the public prints, that he was ready to execute the Fugitive Slave Law.]

It is not my habit to make explanations of the motives of my conduct, in any relation of life. I venture to think that I have sufficient character to ensure for my actions the respect of those whose respect is valuable, and I am content, for myself, to trust to its natural influence. But the state of public feeling in many parts of this Commonwealth is so extraordinary and so erroneous, that I think it right to say something upon these attempts to direct popular odium against the officers of the general government. Two other leading Whig papers, the *Springfield Republican* and the *Boston Atlas*, are engaged in the same laudable undertaking. When it is seen, however, that there are those who are fully determined not to allow their sense of duty to be crushed by a tyrannical popular opinion, and who are as well able to decide a question of duty for themselves as others can be to decide it for them, perhaps a more manly, just and wholesome sentiment will be restored to the public mind.

The case of Burns had not been pending twenty-four hours before Judge Loring, when I saw that every effort would be made to drive him from the discharge of his duty, by exciting against him the worst passions of the community. Among the means employed for the purpose of increasing the popular odium sought to be heaped upon him, was the statement, originating in a quarter that I shall not name, that I had declined, or was unwilling or afraid, to act. I did not choose that any one whatever should have an excuse for believing that Judge Loring was willing to sit in a case that I had declined. I did not choose to leave him to the inference or imputation that he alone, of all the Commissioners, was willing to execute the law. I thought proper to place myself, as it were, by his side; and I therefore caused the statement and the inference to be contradicted. You imagine yourself to be so well acquainted with my motives or character, as to charge me with the fear of losing an occasional five or ten dollars. You never said anything wider from the truth, since you began to publish the New Bedford *Mercury*, to this day; and that, to my knowledge, is a period of more than twenty years. I have been called upon, on several occasions, to act as Commissioner under the statute for the surrender of fugitives; but I never took a fee for any service under it, and I never shall take one, whether the claimant is successful or unsuccessful. This statement may possibly lead you to suppose that, in continuing to hold the office of Commissioner and to discharge its duties, I *may* be actuated by a public motive. I will suggest to you some facts, which may possibly aid you in coming to this conclusion.

There are some five or six Commissioners in the city of Boston, appointed by the Circuit Court, to discharge certain functions essential to the administration of the judicial system of the United States. Of these Commissioners, there are three or four who, from their age, and consequently their longer experience in all kinds of judicial investigations, may be fairly supposed to be more fitted to try these cases of extradition, with safety to the rights of the fugitive, than some of our younger brethren; and for the same reason their decisions would be more readily acquiesced in by the community.

Mr. Hallett, who is a Commissioner, is also U. S. District Attorney, and is, from that circumstance, practically, though not legally, disqualified from sitting in these cases. The number of Commissioners in Boston, therefore, upon whom the painful duty of hearing and passing upon these cases seems naturally and properly to rest is quite small; and every one of them, as well as each of the others, has to consider that, in throwing up his office or refusing to act, he is depriving the community and the fugitive of a part of their best defence against an ignorant, or passionate, or heedless, or unskilful administration of the law. For myself, while the law remains on the statute book, no amount of popular odium that can be excited against me by the press of the Commonwealth, of whatever name, will induce me to take a step which will have any tendency to reduce its administration in the city of Boston into incompetent or unsafe hands. The office is of no value to me whatever; but I believe it to be of some importance that I should continue to hold it while this law exists. I can truly say to this community, as was said by one whose relations were wider than those of any other man whom Massachusetts has ever numbered among her citizens: "Multo malo vos salvos esse, qualicumque ergo me animo futuri estis."

But you are not content with ostracising the Commissioners. The Marshal must also be embraced among the category of those who do "dirty and menial offices," which "gentlemen" should not do. Let me follow out your argument to its legitimate conclusions; for it is one with which a large portion of this State are, at this moment, strangely misleading themselves. Because some of the judicial officers of the United States are required by law to discharge an exceptional and occasional duty of a painful character, no man who is a "gentleman" ought to be found in those offices. Yet there must be Marshals and Commissioners. The machinery of justice that depends upon, and is administered by, the authority of the United States could not go on for a day without them. No crime committed on the high seas could be reached, no mail robber could be arrested, no suitor could prepare his cause—nothing could be done that involves the judicial system of the Federal Constitution, without these its ministerial agents. What that system is—what its relations are to a commercial people—I hope and presume that the people of New Bedford are able to appreciate. What would become of their vast interests, afloat on the farthest regions of the farthest oceans of the globe, but for the superintending care that the Constitution of the United States extends over them? And what is the agent by which that care and protection are made practical and effective—stretching the arm of the law over the deck of every ship in the remotest seas—but the judicial system of the Federal Government? Yet you would have the ministerial offices of that system refused by one class of men and another, until they sink into the hands of the lowest of mankind, and finally cease to be filled at all. Your argument would suit the opponents of capital punishment, who, upon the same reasoning, might say, that no humane man should be a judge because he may be required to sentence a criminal to death, and then, between you, the wheels of government and society would be brought to a very effectual stand.

But your argument may be followed to still another conclusion. The Constitution of the United States has solemnly provided that fugitives from service shall be given up. Do you mean to say that that was a "dirty" stipulation, into which we entered with the people of the slaveholding States, or do you only mean to say that it is a "dirty and menial office" to perform any service under a *law* which undertakes to execute that clause of the Constitution? If the latter is your meaning, then no law can be enacted under which a Marshal, a Magistrate or a Juryman could act, without performing a "dirty and menial office," unfit for a "gentleman." If it is a "dirty" employment to adjudicate or make an arrest under the present law, it must be equally "dirty" to adjudicate or arrest under any law. Whether the extradition is to be the result of the judgment of one man or of twelve men, it is still, upon your principles, only "the commencement of a life of suffering," and all who have any part to perform in it are engaged in a transaction, the "comparative honour" of which is inferior to the act of strangulation. You hold out a poor prospect for the amelioration of the present statute; and if many of your Whig cotemporaries intend to teach the same doctrines, I am afraid that that political body will exert but small influence for its modification.

Some of the worst enemies of our institutions, and some of the fairest critics of the state of society in this country, have united in the observation that they are unfavourable to the growth of manly and independent character. A sweeping intolerant public opinion, it is said, bears down all individual freedom of thought, and no man is permitted to form and act upon his own ideas of duty. What is right, is to be decided by the public voice, not by the still small voice with which a man communes within the recesses of his own judgment; and he who does not exhibit a disposition to shape his actions and sentiments to meet the popular and imperious demand of the moment, is scourged by an unbridled press into submission to the judgment and conscience of the multitude. I will not say that this charge is, in general, true. But when we see a magistrate, in this Commonwealth of Massachusetts, derided, slandered in every form, burnt in effigy, and held up to popular hatred, for the simple discharge of a function which he could not have avoided, without an unmanly desertion of a duty to the community and to the fugitive, who was sought to be taken, it is time for us to ask whether some part of the accusation is not just. I say that Judge Loring, being a Commissioner, was *bound*, by every consideration of duty to the public and to Burns, to give his talents, experience and legal knowledge to the fair trial of his case; and every man who seeks to injure him for doing it, is engaged in a contest against truth and duty, from which, be he who he may, he will come off worsted.

If you will place this letter in your columns, you will do an act of justice to one whom you have needlessly assailed. If you do not, I shall not grieve.

Your obedient servant,

GEORGE T. CURTIS.

THE EPISTLE OF MR. GEORGE T. CURTIS.

WE are told, in that jocose narrative concerning the strange and deplorable frenzy of Mr. John Dennis, that, on the 27th of March, 1712, Mr. Dennis found upon Mr. Lintot's counter a book entitled an Essay on Criticism, just then published. He read a page or two with much frowning, till coming to those two lines—

Some have at first for wits, then poets, passed,
Turned critics next, and proved plain fools at last—

he flung down the book in a terrible fury, and cried out, "By ——, he means me!" "which is allowed," says the narrative, "to have been the best remark he ever made in his life." Mr. George T. Curtis is like Mr. John Dennis. He finds in *The Mercury* a paragraph entitled "Volunteer Catchpoles," and immediately cries out "That means me." That he really thinks what he says is apparent; for he has written us a long letter, in which he is at great pains to convince us that "a volunteer catchpole" is by no means a disreputable creature, but at once the ornament and bulwark of Society. This letter we are asked to print, and how can we refuse? If it is true, as Mr. Curtis pretty plainly intimates, that our institutions are sustained mainly by himself, and would tumble over if he should withdraw his support, are we not in duty bound to publish a fact so important, and so little likely to suggest itself to the public mind? Considering the portentous nature of the announcement, we feel that Mr. Curt

the profession, he considers himself in some sort its patriarch and patron; he feels a pride in seeing it neatly done; and when Mr. Loring falters in the discharge of his disagreeable duties, his brother Curtis incites and encourages him in the newspapers, and assures him that, though officially severed, he is still with him in spirit. Mr. Curtis evidently thinks that unless his name is in some way connected with these "extraditions," they must certainly prove miserable failures.

And now having done Mr. Curtis all the justice in our power—having printed his letter, and expressed our admiration of its many virtues—perhaps we may say a word for ourselves. Our offence—for Mr. Curtis says that we were offensive—consisted in an expression of astonishment, not that a man should do this business when it came to him, but that he should seek it. We complained that Mr. Curtis had gone out of his way to lend an odious law his gratuitous sanction. He says that he did it solely to cheer the heart of Mr. Edward G. Loring We think the result has shown that Mr. Loring needed no such encouragement, and that he was competent to carry on the chase without any volunteer view-halloo from Mr. Curtis. Whatever may be that gentleman's views of the duty of enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law, he was not compelled, either by the Constitution or by conscience, to proclaim in advance his readiness to support it. Honourable men will enter upon such duties, if at all, with extreme reluctance; and, when they are not officially bound to speak, the gentle and the generous will keep silence. Mr. Curtis did nothing of the kind; but while the hearts of men were heavy at the execution of a process which many of them considered in the highest sense illegal, and almost all of them as cruel, he outraged the feelings of the community by proclaiming, in public prints, that however odious society considered a certain business, he for one was ready to engage in it, We thought such a proceeding impertinent and untimely: we cannot say that Mr. Curtis's letter has altered our opinion. No man is obliged to say in advance what he will or will not do; and it was no more the civil duty of Mr. Curtis to issue his prospective promise than it was the military duty of private Wilkins of Company A, or of any other military hero of State Street, to announce in the papers his full intention of shooting the people without mercy, should he receive the command from his beloved corporal.

There always has been and there always will be a great deal of philolegal prosing, and the exhibition of this in Mr. Curtis's letter is uncommonly solemn and imposing. A man may very well think that nonsense and cruelty are no better because they are enacted, and yet be a tolerably respectable lover of his country and her institutions. Whenever the Fugitive Slave Law is repealed, it will be a barbarity; till then, it is altogether lovely in the eyes of Mr. Curtis and his co-commissioners. To secure its repeal, it must be degraded in the eyes of the people; and if the men who manifest an eagerness to execute it are degraded with it, that is not our fault, nor altogether their misfortune. Nobody pretends that the law is irrevocable; if honourable and estimable men refuse to execute it, so much the sooner will it be repealed. But the crimped and corsetted and cold blooded martinets of the law, with the souls of drill-sergeants and the hearts of provost-marshals, talk continually about the moral sublimity of being the pliant instruments of the government. They do —that is the cant of it—nothing but their duty. Now, we say that a man is no more bound to be a United States Commissioner and execute a bad law than he is bound to be Secretary of State and support a bad administration. A tender-hearted Russian who should decline the office of knout-master might find his relations with the Czar unpleasant, but he would be a hero in humane America. Mr. Curtis would not charge such an anti-flagellant with treason or sedition. At least we hope he would not; for it must be confessed that there is not a wielder of the murderous cord in all Russia who might not write the very double of Mr. Curtis's letter, and demonstrate to a mathematical certainty that flogging is a patriotic and pickling a religious duty.

Like all the gentlemen of his most respectable school, Mr. Curtis anticipates frightful results from the non-enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law—the least of these being a general explosion of the Courts of Admiralty and an absolute abrogation of all maritime law. He beholds our whale-ships in a condition of universal anarchy, with Jack in a mutiny in the forecastle, and Tom Bowlin preaching red republicanism on the quarter-deck—in short, a panorama of piracy, barratry and blood terrible enough to make old Lord Stowell turn in his coffin. We cannot acquiesce in these painful predictions. We are fool-hardy enough to think that the District Court would still go on; that Mr. Justice Sprague would still continue to fan himself and dispense his lucid decrees, and that unterrified proctors would still file libels and pocket costs, although Mr. Curtis should retire from public life. The office of Commissioner, after all, is not one of such overwhelming dignity; in fees and functions it is very analogous to that of a common-law Justice of the Peace, and bad legislation has rather brought it into notoriety than conferred upon it any splendour. Mr. Curtis says that the office is of no value to him; we are sure that, as at present administered, it is of very little value to anybody.

In every contest between power and principle, the champion of the former has upon his side the logic of the law. So had Lord Saunders when he registered the edicts of the Stuarts; so had Jeffreys when he hung the citizens of Taunton; so has Mr. Curtis when he makes hot haste to defend negro-catching and rendition. But the verdict of time will not be less certain in his case than it has been in theirs. Future ages will hardly believe that a law so barbarous ever disgraced the statute book of an enlightened people; and humanity will demand another Strauss to prove that the history which records these transactions is nothing but a myth. The Fugitive Slave Law is now, and always has been, a partisan law, odious to a majority of the people of the Free States, and constantly and variously oppressive. Professedly founded upon the Constitution, it violates the entire spirit of that instrument, and does coarsely and cruelly and carelessly what humanity and justice demand should be done with the utmost consideration and tenderness. Its repeal is as certain as any human event can be; and until it is repealed, its ministers must be content to share the odium which it naturally and inevitably incurs.—*New Bedford Mercury*.

To the Editor of the New Bedford Mercury.

BOSTON, June 14, 1854.

SIR: You have printed the letter of the 7th inst., which I addressed to you through the Boston *Courier*, and in doing so you have avowed two things: First, that you did intend to apply to me the observations on which I commented in that letter; and, second, that the purpose of your attack on me was to promote the repeal of the act for the surrender of fugitives *by making its ministers odious*. With your expressions of contempt for me or my character, I shall not concern myself It is to your doctrines and purposes that I mean to call public attention, being determined to put it to the common sense of the community to say whether they are just.

You have announced a principle of action new in our social history We have had unpopular laws, made under our own constitutions of government by the regular action of the legislative power, before now; but this is the first time that it has ever been avowed, to my knowledge, that in order to get such laws repealed, those whose duty it has been to administer them must be made "odious." This doctrine is worthy of the examination of reflecting men. If it is a sound and just principle of action, there have been modern instances when it might have been applied. We have had, very recently, a law in this Commonwealth that was exceedingly oppressive, and that has lately been declared unconstitutional by our Supreme Court. Did anybody ever hear any of the opponents of that Liquor law declare that a Justice who issued the process which it required must be made "odious" in order to get it repealed? And if a Justice of a Police Court in one of our cities had contradicted a rumour that he had refused to act under the law, would it have been thought quite decent to have denounced him as "outraging the feelings of the community"? I presume not. I presume you can find no precedent for the conduct which you avow and defend, except in times of revolution, when men's minds are made up to sweep away all barriers, whether of character or anything else, high and low, that stand between them and the overthrow of government.

You object to my having contradicted a statement that I had declined to fulfil the requirements of the office which I hold, as not called for by any obligation of "civil duty." You might have considered, before you made your attack upon me, whether you are so good a judge of another man's civil duty as he himself is; whether you, at a distance from this community, can estimate the effect of my conduct upon this new question of the duty of "honourable and estimable men," in reference to the execution of an unpopular law; and whether you are quite competent to decide, for me, that other question, of whether I did not owe it to my brethren, and to the public, to make it known that I assent to no such doctrine as that involved in these attempts to prevent the execution of a law by making its ministers personally "odious." You have not answered —probably you will find it difficult to answer—the reasons which I have assigned for contradicting a statement which, if uncontradicted, would have justified the belief that I am ready to yield my sense of duty to the guidance of others, or be made "odious" if I do not yield to it.

I repeat that your doctrine that "honourable and estimable men" must refuse to execute this law, or be made "odious," can only tend to bring its administration into incompetent and unsafe hands, while it lasts, be that period longer or shorter. And I repeat again that I never will do anything to expose the persons who are the subjects of its administration to hands less competent than those with whom it now rests in this city. The present commissioners are all competent to discharge the duties that belong to the office. If they were to resign, their places must be supplied; and if the sentiments you maintain are just, they would have to be supplied by men in whose decisions the public could have no confidence. You can go on to make me as "odious" as may be in your power; but you will never see me so untrue to my own sense of right as to expose these fugitives to the chances of having the law administered *here* in a manner less careful and cautious than it may now be. I leave others to consider how the repeal of this law is to be brought about. Circumstances have placed me in a position to exercise *some* influence on the manner of its administration, in this community. You may think that this presents to me no question of duty. I think it does, and I propose to abide by my own judgment.

It is not likely that I can have stood for several years in a position where I might be called upon at any moment to act under this law, and in which I have been more than once called upon, without having reflected carefully upon every personal question that can arise out of such circumstances, as well as upon the public questions involved. While its repeal would be a great relief to all who have anything to do with its administration, the question of its repeal is one it has never been my duty to discuss. But there is one suggestion which I may properly make to all who desire to think and act rationally upon this subject. The repeal of this law must be followed by one of two consequences: either the slaveholder must be left to exercise his naked power of recaption under the constitution, without legal process of any kind—a power which has been expressly declared to belong to him by the Supreme Court of the United States—or some other tribunal must be empowered, by some other law, to arrest and adjudicate Good men, who look to the peace and safety of society, would scarcely be willing to adopt the first of these alternatives. With the second, whatever the tribunal might be, there would be just as good reason for making the ministers of the law "odious," and for compelling "honourable and estimable men" to refuse to do what you call the "dirty" business of "negro-catching," as there is for attempting to effect the same object now. Indeed, considering the fact that the present law requires the same duties of the Judges of the United States Courts as it does of the Commissioners, there is *now* the same reason for making the former "odious" as there is for making the latter. This has been tried. It will probably be tried again.

The venerable Judge Davis, who, for more than forty years, discharged the duties of U. S. District Judge for this District, with a purity and conscientiousness never excelled by man, himself surrendered fugitive slaves under the act of 1793. Do you think that if he had read in the *New Bedford Mercury* that he had performed a "dirty" action, that placid old man would have done anything but smile at the folly which assails a public servant for the discharge of a duty imposed by law?

Perhaps it will surprise you if I tell you that I have had relations with fugitive slaves, and with their friends, *not* of an official character. Perhaps you will think it strange that all the efforts which have been made to hold me up as a monster of iniquity, and to make me "share the odium of the law," have not been able to prevent some of these men from coming to me, with confidence, for advice and aid, or to deprive me of the satisfaction of being instrumental in the liberation of many a man, woman and child. In that intercourse, I have learned how mercilessly their individual interests are often sacrificed to the political purposes of the agitator; how their efforts to procure a lawful freedom, through the benevolence of the charitable, are discountenanced and suppressed by their pretended friends; and how they have sometimes been kept in a state of harrowing fear in order that their masters may be compelled to resort to the process of the law, and that there may be a great public disturbance thereupon. When the day of final accounts shall come, let me tell you that there may be other things to be investigated as well as the performance of official duties. It is my opinion that those who have had such duties to perform in this Massachusetts of ours can afford to wait for that day.

In the mean time, my whole creed on these matters, so far as they involve questions of duty, may be involved in a few simple propositions.

1. I have sworn, in more than one capacity, to support the Constitution of the United States.

2. I believe every part of the Constitution to be binding upon my conscience, as a citizen and a magistrate; and I find it contains a clause requiring the surrender of fugitives from service.

3. I conscientiously believe that the act of 1850 is a constitutional law; and in this my own judgment has been instructed by the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and that of both the Judges of the Circuit Court of the United States for this circuit, not to mention many other tribunals.

4. I believe that a law, passed in pursuance of a provision and to discharge an obligation found in the constitution, which imposes upon me a duty that I am able to perform, is binding upon me as a citizen, unless I am prepared to say that *no man* should obey it; and this I can say of no law, until a revolution is manifestly necessary and justifiable.

5. I believe that to refuse to discharge duties which must be discharged by somebody, and which, in case such refusals were to become general, we know would fall into hands less fit to discharge them faithfully and honestly, would be morally and civilly wrong.

If you know of any better principles of conduct than these, I can only say that they have not been taught in the school in which I have learned the principles of moral obligation.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

GEORGE T. CURTIS.

MR. CURTIS'S SECOND.

In an old Italian poem—a burlesque of the Orlando Inamorato—it is related that a certain truculent knight had the misfortune to lose his head, but, as the worthy man did not perceive what had happened to him, he went on fighting in the most preposterous manner. We do not say that Mr. Curtis is in an absolutely acephalous condition, but we must at least declare that there is no more head in his last letter than there was in his first. He sticks well to his hobby-horse, but he puts him through no new paces; we are only treated to the same old caprioles and grave curvets. Perhaps, in his second epistle, he is a shade more solemn and funereal than he he was in his first, for certainly he writes more like a Lord Chief Justice than a human being, and there is a Rhadamantine severity in every stroke of his pen. The sepulchral style of his letter is only once relieved by a suggestion of placidity, and then it is the placidity not of Mr. Curtis, but of Mr. Justice Davis, who was long since gathered to his fathers. Not to lower the sublimity of his position by any earthly termination, he conducts himself after a series of virtuous actions, to the Day of Judgment, and intimates that upon that tremendous occasion, United States Commissioners will be a great deal better off than their neighbours. If we did not mean to be very polite, we should certainly call this very Pecksniffian.

Mr. Curtis elevates Slave-catching to the dignity of a religion, and favors us with his Articles of Faith, which though only five in number, he evidently thinks are of quite as much importance as the old-fashioned Thirty-Nine. We do not know why he should have been at the trouble of this confession, or of making a rejoinder of any sort. We conceded to him all that he now reiterates; we explicitly admitted that in such discussions as these, he had the law and the logic upon his side, and that he was authorised by Act of Congress to say pretty and pompous and patriotic things; but we endeavoured also to show, that, as there is a faith higher than reason, so there may be a principle of action which is abstractly, if not practically, higher than the law. This is what Mr. Curtis cannot understand, but it is an idea which men quite as worthy as he is, have embraced and defended to the bitter end. It may seem very ridiculous in these days of militia glory, that members of the respectable Society of Friends should always have refused to put on epaulets; but we believe that in spite of a practice which Mr. Curtis, no doubt, thinks seditious, they have usually been regarded as pretty good citizens.

Mr. Curtis says, that when we speak of the odium which attaches itself to those who manifest an eagerness to execute an unjust law, we avow a principle of action new in our social history. We answer that such an odium is a natural necessity—an irresistible consequence, for which those only are responsible who have provoked it by imbecile and lunatic legislation. And, while we assert its necessity, we deny its novelty. If Mr. Curtis, about a hundred years ago, had been authorized by His Majesty, George III., to vend to the people of Massachusetts the stamps which that monarch so graciously desired to sell to his trans-atlantic subjects, Mr. Curtis would inevitably have been tarred and feathered, because he would have continued in the business long after prudence would have counselled its abandonment. By the accident of his birth he has escaped the Berkleyan balmage; but the moral demonstration continues to be very possible, and though the body may avoid, the soul may receive the plumy honors. Official odium a new idea! What then has given to certain words a base significance? Why do we hold in contempt "common informers"—why is not society more in love with "spies"? Is there a low official who does for hire what gentlemen would die rather than undertake, who might not repeat the complaints of Mr. Curtis, and demand admission to the drawing rooms and a place at the dinner tables of Beacon street? Even the vilest services must be faithfully performed, and loyalty is a quality as necessary in those who grovel for government, as in presidents and prime ministers; but cannot Mr. Curtis conceive of the possibility of his receiving orders from Congress or the Cabinet, which all his patriotism could not compel him to perform? Is there no employment which the exigencies of the government might demand, so servile that Mr. Curtis would reject it with indignation? Yet this is a land of equality, and in the eye of the law Mr. Curtis is no better than the man who sweeps his office and takes out his letters.

Mr. Curtis declares that if the public contempt reaches him it must also reach Mr. Justice Sprague, who may likewise be called upon to issue warrants. We suppose that Mr. Sprague understands this as well as Mr. Curtis, for although fully qualified to do so, he has issued no warrants—he has left that business to his subordinates, just as he has left the service of libels and the arrest of refractory sailors. And in this connection, we beg leave to ask, why, if "competent hands" are demanded, the fugitive should not have the benefit of the most competent? Why is he put off with the paltry Commissioner, when he is entitled to the Justice? Why is he compelled to content himself with the subordinate scratch, when he has a constitutional and moral right to the benefit of a full bottomed wig?

In a very mysterious way, Mr. Curtis informs us, that monster as we think him to be he has often been consulted by fugitive slaves—a piece of information which he complacently thinks will astonish us. It certainly does not. Nothing can give a livelier idea of the distraction and despair of these poor creatures, than the madness with which they have flown to Mr. Curtis, as the moth flies into the candle. Mr. Curtis says that they were not singed for their confidence, and we are glad to hear it. 'Twas a miraculous escape; and since Mr. Curtis has promulgated his Articles of Faith, we advise no errant son or daughter of Africa to repeat the experiment. They can hardly be quite at their ease after this new Boston Confession. Since Mr. Curtis, from his extensive advertising arrangements, is likely to go pretty largely into the business of "renditions," the consciousness of having assisted one or two unhappy wanderers must be a positive emollient to his sensitive spirit; and it is in the same way, that publicans compound for the sale of their uninspected beverages, by heading subscriptions for the widows and orphans they have created. Ten dollars are put down to credit of the *coculus indicus*, and all the progeny of poisoned wretch sport in new tunics on the strength of the strychnine which murdered their father.

Mr. Curtis has never thought it his duty to discuss the Fugitive Slave Law. Unfortunately for him, others have thought differently, and it is the settled conviction of almost every man, woman and child in Massachusetts that the Law is needlessly cruel, ingeniously remorseless, and antiquated in its tyranny. Against this general belief Mr. Curtis sets his face, and he has a right to do so if he pleases. 'Tis the old Horatian *de gustibus* over again, and, if a man has a taste that way, he is at liberty to indulge it. But the right of private judgment, which Mr. Curtis claims, does not belong to him exclusively. He may think his fellow creatures very seditious, and they may return the compliment by pronouncing him unusually pragmatical. His bones may fairly ache to send them all to the House of Correction, and the least tolerant of them may burn with desire to witness the removal of Mr. Curtis from the office of Justice of the Peace. Mr. Curtis thinks he is right—the people of Massachusetts think he is wrong; and it is a little curious, that this is precisely the relative misunderstanding which always exists between the unfortunate inmate of a lunatic asylum and his keepers. But Mr. Curtis will reap one advantage from his solitary position. When, in the political masquerade of last fall, he appeared as "Phocion," he expressed the hope that he might never hold any office in the State government higher than that of Justice. He is in no danger: upon that point he may possess his soul in peace.

As his tastes and aspirations are so largely national, we ardently hope while there is a Curtis to be employed, there will be a Federal Government to employ him in treason cases and telegraphing, if in nothing more Unfortunately, in 1845, Mr. Curtis solemnly resolved in Faneuil Hall, that the Union had been dissolved and the Constitution overthrown by the admission of Texas, but it is possible, that what he then declared destroyed, he has since recreated upon paper. It was certainly a little odd that such a mastodon of loyalty could be stung by anything into an attic so revolutionary, but the most pachydermatous are sometimes punctured; and since Mr Curtis has found by experience, how easy it is to be elegantly treasonous and fashionably seditious in very good company, he ought to be a little more charitable towards those who stop short of announcing the nullification of the laws, and content themselves with demanding their amelioration.—*New Bedford Mercury*.

THE NEW SCHOOL (PRESB.) GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

THIS body smothered the Slavery agitation with a blanket of conservatism, or as Dr. Cox once said on a similar occasion, "capped the volcano"—a dangerous business one migt suppose, preparing a desolating future eruption in order to avoid present fire and smoke. Last year the Assembly sent questions to its slaveholding presbyteries inquiring into the number and condition of the slaves held by the church members. Those presbyteries contemptuously refused to answerand threatened secession, unless the agitation of the subject ceased. This year, therefore, when self-respect, if no other consideration, should have induced the body to resume the discussion, it was voted inexpedient to discuss the subject or to take any further action! Even an attempt subsequently made to introduce a resolution condemning the Nebraska outrage, was voted down, lest it should bring up the general topic! And then, strangest of all, Rev. Albert Barnes, whese Anti-Slavery sympathies are so well known, but who seems to have lost his moral with his natural vision, congratulates the Assembly on the noble stand it occupies on the Slavery question, so much in advance of the Old School Assembly, which has never ventured to allow a full discussion of the subject as did the New School several years since. The precise practical difference between the two Assemblies, leaving out of the question empty resolutions, is this; the New School have reached after full discussion, the same conclusion at which the Old School arrived without discussion! Wherein this redounds to the credit of the former, we do not exactly see, and we are afraid that not a few others share our lack of discernment. Will Mr. Barnes help us!

There could not have been a more unwise decision for that body, for, unless we greatly mistake, it will cost them not less than fifty or a hundred churches at the North and West who have hung only by a thread for several years, in the vain hope that something efficient would be done to rid the church of slaveholders. Could there be a greater mistake than to risk the West for the sake of the South? Congregationalism is overtaking Presbyterianism by vast strides in all the Western States, and, as it is clear from all denominational connection with Slavery, the inevitable consequence of such action as that referred to above must be, to induce Anti-Slavery men and churches to recede from the Presbyterian Assembly and to cause the ground in the fresh settlements to be occupied by Congregational churches. Thus in the Providence of God the cause of personal liberty becomes auxiliary to that of ecclesiastical liberty and between them both, as between two millstones, pro-Slavery Presbyterianism will, through the West, be ground to powder. How such men as are represented by Albert Barnes, of liberal minds, of humane sentiments, of avowed sympathy with the slave, can fail to see the oncoming of such a result, is to us mysterious in the extreme. It must be occasioned by the idolatry of ecclesiasticism, the persuasion that nothing, not even the cause of truth and liberty, is so important as the preservation of peace and union of the New School Assembly. Alas! that even good men are so slow to discover, that mere organizations, whether political or ecclesiastical, wither and perish, while principles never die and can never be successfully withstood.—*Hartford Religious Herald.*

IN the New School General Assembly (Presb.), in session at Philadelphia, May 26th, the Committee on Bills and Overtures made a report which is as follows; "The committee report that overtures and memorials have been before them from the following Presbyteries, to wit; Hamilton, Long Island, Pennsylvania, Montrose, Watertown, Union, Cortland, Dayton, Indianapolis, Crawfordsville, Madison, Elkhart, Keokuk, Peoria and Knox, Salem and Wabash, and Athens, and from members of the church at Fremont, Indiana, relating to the subject of Slavery.

"In reference to the memorials and overtures, the committee recommend that, Inasmuch as we believe that in the present aspects of Divine Providence the consideration of this subject in the General Assembly is undesirable and inexpedient, and inasmuch as the memorials do not ask for any modification or renewal of the testimony borne by previous Assemblies in regard to the system and practice of Slavery as existing in this country, or for any expression of opinion as to the proper course to be pursued by future Assemblies, therefore this Assembly take no action on the subject."

The report was accepted and without discussion adopted by a large majority.

On a subsequent day the following protest was presented:

PROTEST ON SLAVERY.

The undersigned respectfully protest against the action of the General Assembly upon the report of the Committee of *Bills and Overtures*, upon the memorials and overtures of several Presbyteries relative to the subject of Slavery. Because that action, under the circumstances, is virtually saying to the Presbyteries in the slaveholding States, that the action of the last preceding General Assembly, in requesting distinct and full statements touching the three points there specified, is not approved by this General Assembly; and that the present Assembly is satisfied with the neglect and refusal to answer these inquiries, and does not deem them even of sufficient importance to the peace or purity of the Church, to repeat the request for an answer at the next General Assembly. Also, because it will and must be construed into a willingness to cease all direct effort to disconnect itself from the sin of Slavery; and in this particular, is a receding from the high and laudable position heretofore assumed. And for the further reason, that it places this branch of the Christian Church in the apparent position of diminishing its efforts to eradicate a great and growing evil, at the very period when the efforts for its extension and perpetuity are strongest and most reprehensible, as well as unscrupulous, and where there is also the best prospect for the labours of the Church to be successful, and has the appearance of being willing to abandon the field rather than stem the flood of iniquity rolling in upon the Church and the country.

Andrew Loose, B. W. Chidlaw, Jos. Lewis, Enoch Kingsbury, R. Wilkinson, Zerah T. Hoyt, John C. Bestow, Nehemiah Hoyt, Olney Nichols, Elnathan Galpin, Raymond Burr, Amos Jones, Henry Bushnell, Milton J. Snow, Samuel A. Rawson, George W. Reynolds, Eldad Barber, Wm. J. Cornwell, David Dobie, Alvah Day, W. M. Allison, A. Blakely, Job A. Tiffany, Geo. W. Warren, Levi Griswold, John Summers, Lucius C. Rouse, Joseph L. Riggs.

On a subsequent day the Committee on Bills and Overtures reported the following answer to the Protest, which was adopted:

"In answer to the protest against the resolution adopted in respect to the subject of Slavery, the Assembly deem it sufficient to say that the reasons assigned for the resolution are the only ones for which it is justly responsible; and farther, that constructions are placed upon the resolution by the Protestants which are not authorized by the act of the Assembly."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, New York.

Donations to the Treasury of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, New York.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1854.

FOURTH OF JULY.—A Grand Mass Meeting of the Friends of Freedom, under the direction of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at Framingham on Tuesday. Among the speakers will be WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, LUCY STONE, EDMUND QUINCY, ANDREW T. FOSS, &c.

Special trains of cars, on the Boston and Worcester Railroad, will leave Boston at 9 25 A. M., and return from the Grove at 5½ P. M. Fare, to and from the Grove, 50 cents.

TWENTY-FIRST NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

To be held in Boston, Mass., during the Christmas Week of 1854.

THE Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar beg leave to present, their appeal for aid and sympathy once again to every lover of Freedom, whose eye this paper shall reach. We do it in the spirit of that hope which is power, pledging our own most earnest exertions in the Slave's behalf, and feeling therefore at liberty to implore the same at the hands and hearts of others.

The present is no time for faithlessness, or delay, or inaction. Its thronging events announce that the *Hour* draws nigh which is to decide, in this nation, the great conflict of Freedom with Slavery. To such an hour shall *Men* be wanting? Shall it find a people weak, timid, selfish, alive only to material success and enjoyment, or shall it be able to summon to its emergency the heroism, the self-sacrifice, the religious faith that bring in their very nature the assurance of success?

The cruelty, the baseness, the danger of Slavery is fast becoming apparent to the whole North. Her next lesson must be, that no human legislation can sanctify crime; that if, indeed, Slavery be a sin against God and an outrage on man, all laws for its support are part and parcel of the original atrocity, and are to be disobeyed at all hazards.

The most abominable crimes ever perpetrated against humanity have been committed in the name of and under the sanction of Law. The persecutions of the early Christians, the persecutions of all the seceders from the dominant church in centuries gone by, the Inquisition, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Witchcraft Delusion of New England, the recent imprisonment of the Madiai, are examples of the truth of what we say. The legal enactments of their day gave sanction to them all even as to the Fugitive Slave Law now.

For the authors of these deeds, shall it be more tolerable in the day of judgment that they trampled under foot the commandments of God, *legally*?

It is as *individuals* that people must learn their duty touching this matter. The impious and shallow folly which supposes that men as Commissioners, or Marshals, or Soldiers, or Attorneys, can aid in the execution of atrocious enactments without the same amount of guilt before God and man as if it were not "iniquity framed by law," must be met and exposed. When men give account to God for the deeds done in the body, this refuge of lies cannot stand. Let us sweep it away now by such earnest promulgation of light and truth on the duty of individual responsibility that no man shall say he sinned ignorantly.

The diffusion and support of those great principles of Justice that underlie the Universe is the work that now claims our labour. For our foundation principle, we assume *the right of a man to himself as against the world*, and we accept every consequence that legitimately flows from this doctrine.

It is in Boston, in the United States of America, in the nineteenth century, where the Declaration of Independence has been yearly read amid public solemnities and rejoicings for more than seventy years, that this language will be esteemed fanatical, perhaps treasonable. To stir to their inmost depths our own or other hearts, can we add a stronger motive than that presented by such a statement?

All disposed to co-operate with us are requested to communicate with the undersigned Committee.

Anne Warren Weston,	Anne Greene Phillips,
Mary May,	Louisa Loring,
Maria Weston Chapman,	Helen E. Garrison,
Sarah Shaw Russell,	Henrietta Sargent,
Mary Gray Chapman,	Eliza Lee Follen,
Susan C. Cabot,	Caroline F. Williams,
Frances Mary Robbins,	Lydia Parker,
Sarah H. Southwick,	Caroline Weston,
Sarah Blake Shaw,	Eliza J. Eddy,
Mary Willey,	Evelina A. S. Smith,
Sarah Russell May,	Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Elizabeth Von Arnim,	Mary H. Jackson,
Elizabeth Gay,	Abby Francis,

Anna Shaw Greene.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY.

A Special Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society was held at Sansom Street Hall, June 13th, 1854, pursuant to the call of the Executive Committee, published in the *Freeman*.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society was represented by Edmund Quincy and Sydney H. Gay.

JAMES MOTT, President, called the meeting to order at half-past 10 o'clock.

No Secretary of the Society having been elected to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Haworth Wetherald, Benjamin C. Bacon was appointed Secretary for the day.

On motion of Robert Purvis, the hour of adjournment was fixed at 1 o'clock, to meet again at 3 o'clock.

On motion of Sarah Pugh, a Business Committee was appointed, as follows:

Mary Grew, James Miller McKim, Mahlon B. Linton, Edmund Quincy, Sydney H. Gay, Joseph A. Dugdale, and George Corson.

The following resolution, offered by Mary Grew, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this Society highly appreciate the faithful services performed by Cyrus M. Burleigh, in his office of editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman;* that we deeply regret that impaired health has compelled him to relinquish that office; and that we assure him of our sympathy and earnest wishes for his restoration to the Anti-Slavery field, where he has so long and so devotedly laboured.

J. Miller McKim presented the following resolutions for the purpose of bringing the business mentioned in the call of the Executive Committee before the meeting for discussion.

Resolved, That the necessities of the cause can be better met, and a more judicious expenditure of the Society's funds can be made, by concentrating our efforts to the support of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, than by continuing to divide them in the support of both that paper and the *Freeman;* and therefore,

Resolved, That we substitute the *Standard* for the *Freeman*, as the organ of this Society, and commend that paper to our friends throughout the State, as an efficient instrumentality for all our purposes.

The resolutions were discussed till the hour of adjournment, by Jacob L. Paxson, Mahlon B. Linton, J. Miller McKim, Benjamin C. Bacon, William Brown, Joseph A. Dugdale, Robert Purvis, Mary Grew, Lucretia Mott, Thomas Curtis, and Edward M. Davis.

AFTERNOON SESSION.—JAMES MOTT, President, in the chair. Meeting called to order at 3 1-2 o'clock.

Mary Grew stated, on behalf the Business Committee, that the subject under discussion at the close of the morning session would probably consume the time of the afternoon, and judged it best to bring forward no other business.

The discussion of the resolutions offered by J. Miller McKim was then resumed. Remarks were offered by Mary Grew, J. Miller McKim, Edmund Quincy, Josiah Bond, James Mott, Thomas Garrett, Lucretia Mott, Sydney H. Gay, and Robert Purvis.

The question was then taken on the resolutions, which were adopted, ayes 18—nays 5. [It ought to be stated that a number had left before the vote was taken.—ED. *Freeman*.]

After some further remarks, by several members, upon the necessity of vigorous efforts on the part of the Pennsylvania Society to raise funds to meet the ordinary wants of the cause, and enable the American Society to improve the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, the meeting adjourned, *sine die*.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Sec'y pro. tem.

By the above report of a late meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, which we copy from last week's *Freeman*, our readers will learn that, on and after the 1st of July, the *Freeman* and the *Standard* will be united in one paper; or, to speak more correctly, the latter paper is to be substituted for the former, and the Pennsylvania Abolitionists will look to it hereafter as not only the organ of the American Society, but also as their own local organ, ready and diligent always to do their work, and speaking always with their voice, and in their name. In the wisdom of such an arrangement all concerned, we trust, will acquiesce, and, as its efficiency must depend upon such acquiescence, it is most devoutly to be hoped, for the cause's sake, that the Anti-Slavery people of Pennsylvania will see to it that great gain shall come to the cause by this arrangement As a question of economy, it is only a question of arithmetic, which requires no great skill in cyphering to decide; for it is clear that the actual cost of publishing one paper is less than the cost of publishing two. But this, if we understand the matter, is not the sort of economy, merely, that it is meant to compass in this junction of the two papers. It is the economy of doing *more* with the *same* means, and not that of doing even the same work with *less* means, that is aimed at. It is as if two men engaged in the same business, but with distinct and expensive establishments, should unite in a single house, and, by a junction of capital, do, not only all they did before, but a larger business than the two separately were able to conduct; not only because a given sum can be used more efficiently as a whole than when divided, but because there is a certain addition to that capital from the saving of mere expense Such we understand to be the spirit—except that morality-making, and not money-making, is to swell the sum total which *we* carry to Profit and Loss—which suggested and which has accomplished this junction of the two papers, and with such a purpose the appeal is made by the Pennsylvania Society to its members to give to their *new* paper their hearty support, and make it all that, and more for the cause among them than the old one could ever be. And in the same spirit, it is hoped, the members of the Society will respond.

It will be observed that the vote of the Society on this proposition relating to its organ was not unanimous. A minority, respectable as to numbers (5 to 18), and still more respectable in that quality which in the Yearly Meetings of Friends is recognised as 'Weight,' doubted the wisdom of such a measure. It was not—it is proper to state—that they felt any dissatisfaction with the *Standard* as an efficient Anti-Slavery paper; or that they recognised any difference of Anti-Slavery opinion or principle among the Pennsylvanians and the Abolitionists of other parts of the country, which would render it difficult or improper that the mouth-piece of these should speak for those also; or that they did not see that, provided one paper could do the work of two, it could do it with less expenditure of means. But their apprehension was that the substitution of the *Standard* would be made an occasion of triumph to the enemies of the cause; that its public influence would be lessened by the want of a press which was solely and distinctively Pennsylvanian; and that even friends might become lukewarm when without an organ which may speak exclusively for them and to them. Whether these fears are prophetic time only can show; but we believe that a very earnest determination exists—and with none more earnestly than with those who expressed them—that their existence shall ensure their defeat. They mean that if the enemies do triumph, and profess to believe that the *Freeman* is dead, that such triumph shall be very short-lived, and shall quickly prove an invention for their own torment; that they shall soon learn to know that that paper has a new life in this, and that the power which they have so long feared, so far from being 'suppressed,' has only gained a greater freedom of action. They mean that the influence which their own paper has exercised, because it was the organ of a small but effective party, shall gain new power because the same mind and the same zeal which, in the Pennsylvania Abolitionists, made themselves felt and respected in the *Freeman* shall be felt still more in the columns of a paper published under fewer disadvantages. And finally, they mean, so far as they have any responsibility in the matter, that their neighbours and friends everywhere shall understand this movement to be meant as an onward one, and shall work with renewed spirit, as becomes men who have taken new responsibilities and hold out new and renewed hopes.

Such is the aspect of the affair, as it presents itself to us, in its relations to the *Freeman* and its constituents. On the other hand it may be regarded as a hopeful movement for the American Society, as indicating a growing feeling of the necessity of concentrated effort in behalf of the cause, and a determination that by thus drawing together the wings of the Anti-Slavery host, a more formidable front, than ever before, shall be presented to the foe. If the arrangement shall be upheld in such a spirit, it will be marked as an era in the history of the American Society.

Of course, with such an addition of material and moral aid to our resources, our readers will expect to see a corresponding improvement in the *Standard*. They will not be disappointed; but on this point we are not prepared to speak till next week.

To our own remarks it is proper to add those of the *Freeman*. We copy accordingly the article announcing the change from the last number of that paper.

THE UNION OF THE "FREEMAN" WITH THE "STANDARD."

By a reference to the proceedings of the State Society in another column, it will be seen that the proposition to unite the *Pennsylvania Freeman* with the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* has been adopted. The arrangement is to go into effect on the first of the coming month. The vote in favour of the measure was nearly unanimous, though it ought to be stated that there was a comparatively small number of the members of the Society present. This, under the circumstances—the season of the year and the shortness of the notice—was to have been expected; but it is believed that those who were there fairly represented the Society, and that the vote was a proper exponent of the sentiment that prevails on the subject.

By this decision the *Pennsylvania Freeman* will be discontinued at the end of this month, and, after that, our subscribers will be furnished with the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in its stead. No other change will take place in the arrangement of the Society, or its mode of action. The paper will be issued regularly every week from No. 31 North Fifth Street, and on the same day that it is published in New York. All communications, whether relating to the business or the editorial department of the paper, are to be directed, as when the *Freeman* was the organ of the Society, to the Publishing Agent in this city.

We need hardly say that we regard the adoption of this measure by the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society with the sincerest satisfaction. The embarrassments to be avoided by it and the advantages to be secured seem to us palpable, and we believe that the experiment, with the reflection that will come with it, will satisfy all candid and disinterested minds that the expedient was a wise one. It will give to our subscribers a better paper than it was possible for us, under the circumstances, to furnish them with, and it will afford a support to the *Standard*, the organ of our National Society, which otherwise could not have been counted upon. It will enable those having the immediate charge of that paper to make it a still more interesting and instructive journal, and will give the general cause the advantage of a more powerful and effective instrumentality for its advancement. At the same time it will allow the Society, if it should so choose, to employ a portion of its resources in other, and, in their measure, equally important, modes of Anti-Slavery effort; as for instance, in the publication and distribution of tracts, and the insertion of Anti-Slavery articles in the daily newspapers. It is also expected that the new arrangement will lead to an increased number of Anti-Slavery meetings and a larger amount of Anti-Slavery lecturing than we have had in this State for the last year or two.

It is not proposed—or expected—that there shall be any diminution of effort or of responsibility on the part of the Society or any of its members. On the contrary, those who have advocated this measure hold themselves pledged, as they have always done, to undiminished and never-ceasing effort, in all available and proper ways, for the promotion of the righteous cause to which they have devoted themselves; and this we believe to be the general feeling of those who voted for the proposition. It is true that they expect by this arrangement to economise labour and money, but not for their own ease or pleasure, but that they may expend them in other directions where they will tell with better effect upon the interests of the cause. If any are laying the flattering unction to their souls, that the adoption of this expedient will release them from any portion of the responsibilities that rest upon them as the pledged advocates of Freedom, they are greatly mistaken.

We do not believe, however, that there are any such. We are well acquainted with the members of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, and we know that slow as they may be at times to be moved, and jealous as they always are of any needless or unwise expenditure of money, nevertheless, when the call for action imperatively comes, and the duty of giving of their substance is made clear, none anywhere are more prompt to obey the one, or cheerfully and liberally to respond to the other.

In conclusion, we are happy that our readers are to receive a paper that we can so heartily commend. The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* is a paper of distinguished excellence. Its importance to the cause cannot be overvalued, and its usefulness is appreciated on both sides of the ocean. Having the benefit of the labours of three able and accomplished editors, there is no paper of the kind published anywhere in the world that is superior to it. We commend it to our readers with the fullest confidence, feeling sure that they will find in its weekly visits increasing pleasure and profit. We trust that, for the sake of the cause, they will take pains to interest others in it, and will do what they can to extend the sphere of its usefulness.

THE BOSTON PETITION IN THE SENATE.

IN the U. S. Senate, on Monday, there was a warm debate upon the petition for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave act, which had been presented on a previous day by Hon JULIUS ROCKWELL, the new Senator from Massachusetts, from over 2,100 citizens of Boston. We copy below all that our scanty limits will allow from the telegraphic report of the debate. It will be seen that Messrs. Jones of Tennessee and Butler of South Carolina talked in the true Southern vein. Mr. Rockwell was dignified, but showed so little pluck that Mr. Butler was induced to try the experiment of killing him off by compliments addressed to his vanity. Mr. Sumner spoke with more decision, and drew upon himself the malignant abuse of the representatives of the Slave Power. The report of his speech is evidently very meagre.

Mr. JONES (Tenn.) said that he had no design to call in question the motives of the Senator who had presented the petition. He had no fault to find with the exercise of the right of petition. It was the undoubted right of every citizen, and one to which he would give every latitude. He would go so far as to say that he believed it was the right of his Satanic Majesty even to send up a petition to that court which he had insulted, and from which he had been hurled. But it was by motives and objects that petitions were to be judged. So if in sending up that petition he was actuated by a purpose of mischief, or was hypocritical in his prayer, he deserved a deeper infamy than that to which he had already been consigned. If this petition now before the Senate be sent hither from proper motives and proper purposes, it is entitled to all respect If it be sent hither for the purpose of mischief, and to produce strife, then it deserved the contempt of every good man. This was not the first petition of this character sent here, and had this come unattended with striking circumstances, giving it the color of treason, he would not have noticed it. But it came here with all the circumstances tending to show that it is part of the plan of operations of those with whom agitation and repeal are watchwords. He had seen already one attempt made to give practical effect to the prayer of this petition, and it had only found four Senators who would give the sanction of their names to its unholy purpose. It was said that these petitions were the result of the passage of the Nebraska bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He did not believe it. It was the result of a combination of those willing to take part in any scheme to break down the Constitution of the United States and place the South under degradation and humiliation. It came from a city where the laws were openly set at defiance; where the temple of justice was surrounded by an armed mob to prevent the execution of constitutional duty; where treason stalked broadly through the streets at noonday, and where the officers of the law were butchered. The petition came from such a people and from such a place, following immediately upon these events. Was he not right in supposing this petition got up at such a time had in view no consideration of public interest? It came from Boston, where the dust of the first and last martyrs in the country's cause, Warren and Batchelder, were now mingled together. The orator then called attention to an address, published in *The Intelligencer* of the 22d. instant, said to have been adopted at a meeting of the members of Congress opposed to the Nebraska bill. The simultaneous appearance of this document with this petition might induce the belief that like birds of omen and perturbed spirits they desired companionship in publicity as well as in sentiment.

[Mr. Jones went on to denounce in the bitterest terms the Address of the Anti-Nebraska members of Congress, and concluded as follows:]

He could see no difference between the petition for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law and the dissolution of the Union. There was no man that believed the Union could be preserved one day after the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. The South asked to do no wrong to the North. All it asked was to preserve the Constitution and give us an equality of rights. He had been a Whig all his life; he was told now by the northern wing of that party that hereafter the test to be applied to all Whigs was the repeal of the Nebraska act—repeal of guarantees of equality to all States given by the Constitution. If this was to be the test of orthodoxy in the Whig party, then he avowed himself a heretic, and suggested that against him now at once might be prepared the edict of excommunication. If to trample on the rights of any section or State was necessary to be a Whig, he had to say to his former friends and associates, Good bye. He would rather die than follow them in any such rule of action.

Mr. ROCKWELL said he regretted that the duty had fallen upon him to defend the State of which he was a representative. He regretted that his predecessor was not here to discharge that duty rather than himself. This memorial was signed by over twenty-one hundred of the men of Boston. Its signers were the bone and sinew of the active business men of that city. He saw nothing in their petition either extraordinary or wrong. They simply asked for the repeal of an act of Congress only four years old, which act was in addition to the one which had been in force over fifty years. Was there treason in this? Was it treason to ask Congress to repeal an act of its own making? It was said that there were circumstances attending it which gave to it greater importance. It was signed by men who had acquiesced in the Compromise Measures of 1850, of which this act was one, but who were moved to ask for the repeal of this abnoxious law because Congress had repealed a previous and long standing compromise. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he begged to assure the gentleman, had created a depth of feeling in the free States entirely unprecedented, and which would continue for years to come. It was true that in Boston, under this law, recently an arrest was made—that an affray or riot took place, and a homicide was committed; but it should be remembered that the constitutional authorities of Massachusetts and Boston took that matter in hand and disposed of it. Sudden tumults and affrays and violence had occurred in other places than in Boston. This petition was got up for no purpose of provoking bloodshed, riots, or treason. It was not got up recently. Had its signers such objects in view, they would not have left their petition open to the public gaze at the Merchants' Exchange, exposed to examination by the friends and the opponents of its prayer. The feeling now existing at the North was such as never had been witnessed before. It was wide-spread and universal. It pervaded all professions and occupations of life. The action of Congress at this session had produced the feeling. Whole classes of men had been openly denounced in Congress for petitioning against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He would say to Senators with all respect, that in denouncing the clergy for petitioning against that act they had gone too far, for the clergy of New England spoke the sentiments of the whole population they lived among. Public sentiment was against this law, and the cry was for its repeal. He supposed there would always be found a party in Massachusetts ready and willing to execute it, but its execution was against the sentiments of the people. He would say to the Senator that the time had gone by when any threat of a dissolution of the Union consequent upon the action of the free States, upon any measure, would deter them from doing what they conceived to be right. Threats of disunion had ceased to be an argument with them either for or against any measure. The North was devoted to the Union—they would adhere to it—they would go with it to whatsoever extent it was extended; but they did not believe that this Union could be dissolved. Disunion was an impossible thing. Why was it that Congress, while extending the Union in all directions, had neglected the great binding ligament of a railroad to the Pacific? He urged the construction of that great work, and said that he had no connection with the meeting which had adopted the address, though he fully agreed with the sentiments it uttered.

Mr. JONES asked the Senator to say how many of these signers, who were said to be the bone and sinew of Boston, had aided in executing the law lately in Boston. Were not a large number of them with treason in their hearts and knives in hand, engaged in the recent mob to resist the Constitution and the laws?

Mr. ROCKWELL—I do not know that one was so engaged.

Mr. JONES asked if Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker, who had incited an ignorant and infatuated people to resist the law and the Constitution, which they had not courage or manliness enough to do in person. Had they nothing to do with these riots and these cries for repeal? As to the clergy of New England he had nothing to say. He never quarreled with women or clergymen. He transferred the fight with them to the Senator of Illinois. But he asked the Senator if he believed the Union could last one day after the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law.

Mr. ROCKWELL—I have said already that disunion is an impossible thing.

Mr. JONES—If the Senator supposes that the South will stand like cravens and submit to have their property taken from them in violation of the Constitution, he is much mistaken, and knows very little of their character. The Union without the Constitution would be worse than Slavery. Sooner than submit to such degradation and humiliation, he would himself apply the torch to the temple of our Union, and perish in its ruins. If the Senator expected to see the Fugitive Slave law repealed, or the Missouri Compromise restored, he might expect to enjoy a long lifetime. Neither the one nor the other act would the Senator ever see.

Mr. BROADHEAD said he did not know whether this quarrel between old friends ought to go on or to stop. For twenty years Tennessee and Massachusetts had been politically associated in all Presidential elections. Tennessee had refused to vote for General Cass who opposed the Wilmot Proviso, and voted for General Taylor, who refused to pledge himself against it, that he might secure Massachusetts. If this quarrel was to end in their parting company, it had better go on, if not, the Senate ought to take up other business.

Mr SUMNER said that he would begin by answering the question whether the Union can exist after the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. If the Union could not exist without an act—law he could not call it—which outrages all principles of humanity and right, as did the Fugitive Slave law, then the Union ought not to exist. He would not attempt to follow the Senator from Tennessee, for like a hero of antiquity it could be said of that Senator, "thrice had he slain his foes, and thrice he slew the slain." He sincerely hoped the people of the North were not to be intimidated or cajoled into an abandonment of those great principles of freedom which they had so long been devoted to. He hoped there would be a backbone preserved to the North. He entirely agreed with his colleague as to the character of the memorialists. Among them were those who had acquiesced in the Compromise measures of 1850—there were also those engaged in great mercantile interests. It was that great interest which, in the history of England, twice checked the humane efforts of Wilberforce to break up the African slave trade. It was the same great interest which, from sordid motives, had in the Constitution of the United States kept for twenty years the same heaven-offending traffic from the judgment of the American people. He had spoken against the Fugitive Slave law here and elsewhere. He was free to avow it. In so doing he would not throw himself upon the judgment of a Senate fresh from the passage of the Nebraska act, but would throw himself upon the judgment of his country and his God. He then read numerous extracts from the former speeches on this law, and avowed again the sentiments therein expressed. He referred to the sentiments expressed in Faneuil Hall, by Otis, Adams, and others, preceding the revolution, in which they held that resistance to Slavery was obedience to God. A short distance from that sacred edifice, said he, and between it and the Court House, where the disgusting rites of sacrificing a human being to Slavery were lately performed, was the spot which was first moistened by American blood in resisting Slavery, and among the first victims was a coloured person. Near Boston are Concord and Lexington, where that resistance was repeated, and it received its crowning glory at Bunker Hill. He then run a parallel between the resistance to the Stamp act in 1766 and the Fugitive Slave act of 1850. He further contended that the former was a harmless measure when compared with the latter.

Mr. BUTLER said that his idea on this question was that there ought not to be any necessity for a Fugitive Slave Law. Under the Consitution, each State of itself ought to provide for the renditon of all fugitives from labour to their masters. This was certainly the design of the Constitution. He had listened to the Senator who had presented the memorial, and was pleased with his manner. There was a calmness and sincerity about his remarks which required for them the highest respect. He regretted to hear him say that there was an intense feeling at the North on this subject. While he had no objection to a reference of the memorial, he in all frankness desired to ask the Senator if the fires which he says are burning at the North are not to be extinguished, what good is to be accomplished by a report of a committee? If they report that the law ought not to be repealed that will not satisfy any person who demands its repeal. He was surprised to hear the other Senator (Mr. Sumner) indulge in such rhetorical displays, doing no credit to his own character or that of the Senate. His speech was unworthy of the Senate and of a scholar. If he had kept it a while longer and dressed it up a little it might have answered for a Fourth of July oration in some localities. He would remind the Senator when Otis spoke in Faneuil Hall—when Hancock acted and when Adams wrote, they did so as the representatives of a slaveholding State. The appeals made in those days of Boston and Massachusetts were addressed to slaveholding States The men of Massachusetts of that day were slaveholders and gentlemen. He regretted much the character of the Senator's speech. There was a great difference between it and that of his colleague. One was a calm, honest, sincere expression of belief and opinion; the other was false rhetoric, declamative, and an incentive to rouse the worst passions of the infatuated people of certain localities. If the issue was to come as was indicated, and the contest was to be between the North and the South, let it come and be divided at once. Let it be considered, argued and disposed of calmly, and without exciting appeals, dressed in rhetorical display, such as was made by the Senator to-day. He would like to ask the Senator if Congress repealed the Fugitive Slave law, would Massachusetts execute the constitutional requirements and send back to the South the absconding slaves?

Mr. SUMNER—Do you ask if I would send back a slave?

Mr. BUTLER—Why, yes.

Mr. SUMNER—"Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?"

Mr. BUTLER—There he is again with a quotation all ready prepared. He gets up here and shouts it out with, as he doubtless supposes, more than Demosthenean eloquence and beauty; but he is mistaken [laughter]. What have dogs to do with the Constitution [laughter]? The Senator declares that he would not execute the Constitution which he has sworn to support. The Senator openly declares that it is a dog's duty to obey and execute the Constitution. The Senator has sworn to support it, and declares to do so is a dog's duty

Mr. SUMNER—I recognize no such obligation upon me.

Mr. BUTLER—Well, I suppose it makes but little difference what you consider obligatory upon you.

Mr. MASON followed, defending the fugitive slave law. He denied that it suspended the habeas corpus act, as asserted either ignorantly or corruptly by the Senator from Massachusetts. He said that it was Massachusetts and the other New England States which had forced into the Constitution the prohibition upon Congress repealing the slave trade for twenty years. This was done that in that time these States might do the carrying trade in that traffic.

Mr. PETTIT said that he had lived to hear upon the floor of the Senate an avowal which he never expected to have heard anywhere, that a Senator sworn to support the Constitution owed no obligation to that instrument. He believed in the right of petition. He would vote to receive any that was respectful in its character, and to refer it. Should a petition come here from Massachusetts, or elsewhere, asking the Senate to expel any Senator who should disavow any obligation to the Constitution, he would vote to receive and refer it, though he would not at present say how he would vote upon it finally. The Senator had sworn openly to support the Constitution in all its parts. He made no reservation. He could not take his seat if he had, and he ought not to hold his seat after making it. He again referred to that part of the Declaration of Independence, which says that all men are created equal, and held that if these words were used in the sense placed upon them by Abolitionists, they were a self-evident lie. He discussed this matter for half an hour. He denied that men were created equal, either physically, morally, politically, or mutually. He denied that the Senator who had sworn to support the Constitution, and who to-day spit upon that oath, was equal to his revolutionary ancestors.

Mr. SUMNER—Never, Sir, never.

Mr. PETTIT—You denied that the Constitution placed any obligation upon you which you were bound by. Was such a Senator equal to Webster? The one had earned the title of the Expounder of the Constitution; the other deserved that of the contemner and despiser of that instrument. If the Almighty intended to have created the Senator equal to Webster, then that great power had created a great blunder and failure. He did not think the searcher after an equality of morals could find any one more degraded than the Senator, who, after having called God to witness his declaration to support the Constitution, had, with that fact fresh in the minds of his fellow-Senators, openly avowed that he recognised no obligation imposed by that same oath.

Mr. DIXON got the floor; and at 4 1-2 o'clock the Senate adjourned.

OUR thanks are due to Hon. CHARLES SUMNER and Hon. J. R. GIDDINGS for pamphlet copies of speeches delivered by them.

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.—The *Times* has published a report from the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate—presented to that body, by Mr. Slidell, in *secret session*—recommending the abrogation of that Article of the Ashburton treaty which binds the United States to keep a naval force on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the Slave Trade. The Committee assert that the African squadron has done little if any good, having captured only 14 vessels, while it has had a tendency to increase the vigilance of the traders, and thereby the cruelties inflicted upon the victims. They disclaim any intention of relaxing in any degree the stringency of our legislation on the subject of the Slave trade, but they would leave the Executive at liberty to withdraw the squadron from the African coast and employ it in the vicinity of Cuba and Porto Rico, where they think it would act more efficiently. This sounds well, but we suspect there is a cat under the meal.

Mr. Clayton, however, has presented to the Senate a bill, which, if it shall pass, will add not a little to the stringency of the laws against the Slave Trade. It provides that whenever any American registered ship or vessel shall, in whole or in part, be sold to a citizen of the United States at any foreign port or place in North or South America, in West Indies, in Cape de Verde Islands, or on or near the Coast of Africa, the bill of sale shall be utterly void unless it shall be executed in the presence of the Minister or Consul of the United States, and shall contain an express condition that such sale shall not be valid in case such vessel shall make a voyage to Africa before returning to the United States and obtaining a new register. Any citizen of the United States who shall sell any such vessel, knowing that she is to be employed in the African Slave Trade, or that she is to visit the Coast of Africa before returning to the United States, or shall charter such a vessel for such a voyage, shall, on conviction thereof in any United States Court, be fined ten thousand dollars and be imprisoned for three years. Every charter of an American vessel at any such foreign port, with the intent that such vessel shall be employed in the Slave Trade, and every sale of an American vessel on the Coast of Africa, unless she be duly condemned as unseaworthy, shall be illegal and void.

TERRITORIAL APPOINTMENTS.—The President has sent the following nominations to the Senate:

Gen. W. O. Butler, of Ky., as Governor of Nebraska; A. H. Reeder of Penn., as Governor of Kansas; Mr. Woodson, of Va., as Secretary of Kansas; Mr. Cummings, of Iowa, as Marshal for do.; Mr. Ferguson, of Mich., as Chief Justice of Nebraska, and Messrs. Bradley of Ind., Hardin, of Ga., and Elmore of Ala. as Associate Judges.

The *Tribune* comments thereupon as follows:

These nominations are made on the balancing principle—half from the slave States and half from those among the nominally free States which are most favourable to Slavery.

Mr. REEDER, the Governor of Kansas, resides at Easton, Pa., and is a constituent and disciple of Senator Richard Brodhead and Representative Asa Packer, both of whom were among the most zealous lieutenants of Douglas in pushing through the Iniquity. With Reeder is associated as Secretary, a Virginian (Woodson), who will of course do his utmost to sustain Senator Atchison's Missouri frontier disciples in their avowed determination to establish Slavery in Kansas forthwith, by virtue of their Bowie-knives and revolvers. There will of course be a Judiciary to match—like that vouchsafed to Nebraska—half Slavery and half Doughface; so that the "aid and comfort" accorded to Freedom and Equal Rights in that Territory will be won by the strong arms and brave hearts of the freemen who make their homes within her borders. They can hardly, after the lands are opened to white settlement, be on them too soon.

Gen. BUTLER, it is understood, will not accept the Governorship of Nebraska.

CONNECTICUT.—The Legislature has passed the resotion to amend the Constitution of the State so as to allow negroes to vote on the same terms as white men. The vote stood 116 for the resolution, 78 against it; 88 not voting. Another resolution of amendment was adopted (106 to 80), to prohibit any person from voting who cannot read. These proposed amendments were then ordered to be continued to the next Legislature, and published with the laws.

The Senate has passed a bill, by a party vote (Whigs all voting yea, Democrats all nay), providing that hereafter no Jail, Court House, or other public building of that State, shall be used for the custody of a fugitive slave. A bill is also before the same body which inflicts a fine of $5,000 upon any person who shall lay a claim to a fugitive slave in that State, and shall not make his claim good.

PRESENTATION TO MR. HAYES.—A large audience assembled in the Tremont Temple, in Boston, on Monday evening, to witness the presentation of a silver salver and a purse of two hundred dollars to Mr. Joseph K. Hayes, the ex-Captain of Police, who so nobly resigned his office rather than assist in the rendition of Burns. Charles M. Ellis, Esq., made an eloquent presentation speech, to which Mr. Hayes responded in modest and appropriate terms. Theodore Parker and William Lloyd Garrison, being loudly called for, addressed the meeting in language which kindled a high degree of enthusiasm. Upon the salver presented to Mr. Hayes was engraved the letter in which he so nobly resigned his office rather than aid in re-enslaving a fellow-being. Massachusetts may well be proud of such a citizen.

A REFRACTORY GRAND JURY.—The Grand Jury of the United States Circuit Court for the District of Massachusetts, in utter disregard of the solemn advice of Judge Curtis, and in contempt of the coaxing and swaggering of District Attorney Hallett, refused to find bills of indictment against Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Dr. S. G. Howe and others, for the crime (!) of uttering words of freedom in old Faneuil Hall. We don't know whether we ought to be glad or sorry for their contumacy. The disappointment of Hallett and Curtis is of course a pleasure, but the *trials* which must have taken place if indictments had been found would have produced a great deal of wholesome agitation and ended in even a more signal defeat of the conspirators.

THE Washington *Star* says it is understood that the Attorney General of the United States (the renowned Caleb Cushing), anticipating some such decision as that of Judge Smith, of Wisconsin, determined, some time since, on a course of proceeding which will insure the due trial of Booth, for resistance to the United States officers engaged in executing the Fugitive Slave law. If he does not banish himself from the United States to some country where he cannot be reached under an extradition treaty, he will be compelled, says that paper, in the end to answer at the bar of justice for his offence.

RHODE ISLAND.—At the recent session of the Legislature an act was passed, so amending the act of '48, which prohibits the use of any jail or prison for the purpose of confining fugitive slaves, and makes it penal for any officer of this State to aid in the arrest or detention of any fugitive slave, as to make it apply to the act of Congress of 1850, instead of the act of 1798, which was then in force. A series of resolutions upon the recent legislation of Congress, which has excited so much feeling in all the free States, were passed by great majorities in both branches.

☞WE are requested to state that Mr. Jobson, historian of the French Revolution, has arrived in New York, for the purpose of concerting measures to promote the republican cause in Europe. While in this country he intends introducing two Five Act dramas by himself and M. Filix Pyat, the celebrated dramatist of the Porte St Martin, Paris, illustrated by British Court life and modern society. He also contemplates the publication of an edition of his works, amounting to upwards of twenty volumes. Mr. Jobson may be communicated with at 40 Warren Street.

WILLIAM S. ROBINSON, formerly of the *Lowell American*, is now one of the editors of the *Boston Commonwealth*. He is a man of great firmness and independence, and a vigorous writer.

CHOLERA.—There were but forty-five deaths from this disease in the city last week; eleven less than in the previous week.

DELIA WEBSTER was recently arrested upon certain old indictments, found before her incarceration in the Kentucky penitentiary. She was sick, and could not be removed, so three men were appointed to watch her. The guard slept or were tampered with, and the prisoner escaped per underground railroad. A rumour afterwards got out that a party of men had crossed over from Madison, Indiana, and released Miss W. *vi et armis*, whereat the chivalry of the section were much excited.

GERRIT SMITH has addressed a letter to his constituents, avowing his determination to resign his seat in Congress at the close of the present session. The claims of his extensive private business are the principal reasons for a step which we, in common with all the friends of freedom, must sincerely regret.

CASSIUS M. CLAY is advertised to speak in various prominent places in Illinois, during the month of July, on the question of Slavery. He will begin in Chicago on the Fourth by an oration before the Young Men's Association.

THE ADDRESS adopted by the Anti-Nebraska members of Congress will be found on the first page. It is exceedingly moderate in its tone, and yet it is said to have produced a good deal of fluttering at the South.

A characteristic letter from the Rev. advocate of the "sum of all villanies," Theodore Clapp, of New Orleans, will be found in its appropriate place. How sickening is the cant of slaveholding piety!

SALLIE HOLLEY is lecturing at present in Northern Pennsylvania. The Coudersport *People's Journal* speaks of her labours in that place as highly acceptable and useful.

MUCH IN LITTLE.

John G. Palfrey is said to be engaged in writing a History of New England. Few men possess higher qualifications for such a work.

——It was not a coloured man, but a white man with a black heart, who betrayed the nine fugitive slaves from Boone Co., Ky., recently surrendered by Commissioner Pendery, of Cincinnati.

——Three slave-catchers went to Detroit the other day on professional business. They made application to a prominent member of the bar for legal aid, but were promptly refused.

——The Washington *Star* calls Judge Smith, of Wisconsin, an "Abolition functionary," because he decided the Fugitive Slave bill unconstitutional. The Milwaukee *Democrat* thus replies—"The 'Abolition functionary' referred to is an Old Line Democrat, who was a Democrat when this renegade from all parties—Cushing—was a Whig, an Abolitionist, and a Tyler man."

——Rev. Samuel Iræneus Prime, for many years chief editor of that organ of the Pharisees, the *New York Observer*, the bitter and malignant libeller of Mrs. Stowe, and defender of the Fugitive Slave bill, has received from a Virginia College the honorary title of D.D. He will make a worthy Doctor of the Slave-breeding Divinity that pervades the Old Dominion. No man knows better than he how to "mingle fiendish deeds with blessedness"—to hallow the foulest iniquity with oily speech, intermixed with phrases of holy cant.

——The Mayor of Boston and his friends have attempted to justify the calling out of the military at the time of the Burns Rendition solely upon the ground that the measure was necessary in order to *keep the peace* of the city. That it was designed to aid the rendition itself, they strenuously deny. If the Mayor is to be believed, the military were the exclusive servants of the State or the City. How does it happen, then, that they received their pay, not from their employers, but from the U. S. treasury? This is a point which Dr. Smith will probably be required to explain before he gets another opportunity of putting Boston under martial law.

POLITICS.

The old-line Democracy of Vermont, at their recent Convention, declared that the Nebraska question was not, in that State, a party test! By adopting this policy, they hope to keep the party from going to pieces. A mass Convention of the Friends of Freedom is to be held in Montpelier on the 4th of July. The Free Democratic Convention will be held at a later day.

——Hon. Oscar L. Shafter declines the Whig nomination for Lieut. Governor of Vermont. Mr. Shafter is a Free Democrat, and is probably unwilling to aid the Whigs in their efforts to appropriate to themselves exclusively the fruits of the general indignation excited by the Nebraska perfidy.

——The *Tribune* states that Trusten Polk, one of the ablest and bitterest of their clan, is to be run for Congress, against Old Bullion, by the Anti-Bentons of his District. They calculate to lure some 1,500 to 2,000 honest Democrats into voting for Polk, while they slip in their own votes for Kennett (Whig), and thus defeat Benton. The *Tribune* hopes they will miss it.

——Hon. Augustus Drum, a Democratic representative in Congress from the Westmoreland District, Pa., has been nominated for re-election. The nomination was made by a direct vote of the members of the Democratic party, and turned upon the Nebraska measure, which was opposed by Mr. Drum and advocated by Judge Todd, who was presented as a competitor for the nomination. On the issue thus made the Democratic electors sustained Mr. Drum by giving him the handsome majority of fifteen hundred and fifty-one votes!

——The Free Democrats of Michigan, at their recent Convention, avowed their willingness to surrender their distinctive organization, and with it their ticket for State officers, nominated several months since, if such a course should be found necessary as a means of promoting harmony of action between all the earnest opponents of Slavery and Slavery extension. They appointed a committee with full power to act in the premises as future exigencies may require.

——Gov. Bigler, of Pennsylvania, is the regularly nominated candidate of his party for re-election. On the Nebraska question he is not publicly commited one way or the other, but his official course upon all questions relating in any way to Slavery has been such that the opponents of Slavery extension are not inclined to trust him. There is some reason to hope that he may be defeated by a union of all, without distinction of party, who are resolved henceforth to resist the encroachments of the Slavocracy. The *Pittsburgh Daily Evening Chronicle*, a zealous advocate of Democratic men and measures, but opposed to the Nebraska bill, has withdrawn the name of Gov. Bigler from the head of its columns, and substituted that of David Wilmot.

——The Democratic party in Maine is split into three opposing factions. First, there is the "Wild Cat" section, which goes full length for rum and Slavery; secondly, the "Morrill Democrats," who go for the Maine Law and (moderately) against Slavery; thirdly, the Administration Democrats, whose ambition it is to keep on good terms with the dispensers of power and patronage at Washington, without cutting themselves entirely off from popular sympathy at home. It seems probable that a union will be patched up between the Whigs, the Morrill Democrats and the Free Soilers, in which case the State will be saved from the guilt and shame of endorsing the Nebraska iniquity.

——The New Hampshire Legislature has not yet succeeded in choosing U. S. Senators. At the close of the trial last week, the House voted to postpone the subject indefinitely, but the partisans of the President were so anxious to have one more chance, that the anti-Nebraska party consented to have another struggle with them on Friday of this week. The candidates of the slavocracy, Wells and Hibbard, after doing their best to lift the party wheels out of the slough, having at length left Concord, the *Providence Journal* thinks the chances of their election are decidedly improved. The Democratic State Convention adopted resolutions endorsing the Nebraska fraud, not in direct terms, but by implication.

——The *Evening Post* says that the 'Hards' and the 'Softs' are both divided on the Nebraska question. In the General Committee of the 'Hards' in this city, a few days since, a resolution censuring Mr. Wheeler and the other 'Hard' members of Congress who voted against Douglas's bill was voted down, 22 to 20, whereupon two of the members withdrew. The State Convention of the party is to be held July 12th. Judge Bronson will be proposed for Governor by the Dickinson faction, and Mr. Cooley by the anti-Nebraska men. The 'Softs' hold their Convention on the 6th of September. The *Post* warns the party that an attempt will be made by the partisans of the Administration to adopt resolutions similar to those passed by the Democracy of New Hampshire, endorsing the Nebraska bill in a "sneaking, willy-wonty, shally-shanty" manner.

——The political waters in Massachusetts are pretty deeply stirred just now. The Free Soilers and a portion of the regular Democracy are not only willing, but anxious to unite with the Anti-Slavery portion of the Whigs in organising a new party of Freedom; but that portion of the Whig party which was more or less Websterized in 1850–51 is determined to counteract this movement, and to put the Whig party itself into its old Anti-Slavery position (on paper), hoping thereby to catch votes enough to give it the control of the State. To check the movements toward a coalition, which are going on in several Counties, the Whig State Committee have issued an address, in which they avow their determination to summon a State Convention early in August, a month before the usual time. This announcement is intended to keep the Whigs in the country towns from committing themselves to the proposed coalition. How far it may be successful remains to be seen. We notice that in Middlesex County, a few days since, a large meeting was held, composed of leading Whigs, anti-Nebraska Democrats and Free Soilers, at which resolutions in favour of abandoning old party names and organizations were adopted. Among those who took part in the proceedings we see the names of Nathan Brooks, Dr. Reynolds, and S. G. Wheeler, Whigs; William S. Robinson and Ralph Waldo Emerson, Free Soilers; and Charles C. Hazewell and Simon Brown, Democrats.

DOMESTIC CORRESPONDENCE.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CL.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Correspondent moralizeth on Numerals—He trembleth at his own achievements—Boston doctored—Pharmaceutical tactics—Laurels and Laurel-water—Distinction between Dr. Smith and Captain Donellan—Mr. Chandler's arguments—The Correspondent describeth and deprecateth the assaults on the Sims Commissioner—He vindicateth his own monopoly of defending the same—His own personal popularity—His dangers therefrom—The New Martyr Age—The Confessors of the Music Hall—Dissappointed of the Crown—Affliction of the Judge and Marshal—The Correspondent sympathizeth and compareth—He defendeth the Commissioner again, &c. &c. &c.*

BOSTON, June 27th, 1854.

I SEE you numbered my last letter CXLX. I don't know whether there has been any reform in the expression of Roman Numerals in this Age of Revolutions. I have not heard of it, at any rate, and therefore do not exactly understand the precise number indicated as above. If you only mean that the power of numbers fails when it attempts to compute the *value* of my communications, I shall have nothing to object to your arrangement of your capitals. You and your readers must settle that point for yourselves. I would state, however, for the benefit of posterity, and especially of the Commentators, that there has been a mistake in the numbering of these contributions to literature, Number CXLVIII. treading close on the kibes of Number CXLVI. I merely mention this lest some antiquarian yet unborn should seek to recover a treasure from the repository of things lost below which really never had any existence. As to this present Number, a friend present says it reminds him of what the Rev. Dr. Sylvester John Gardiner said to a coloured man, who told him in reply to an inquiry as to how old he was, "*forty-ten*." "Why, John, then you must be hard upon fifty!" And that is just where we stand at this isthmus between two Eternities. A Hundred and Fifty Letters! Bless my soul, it makes me tremble to think how much virtue must have gone out of me! I wonder that I have any left.

I told you in my last that I didn't know the exact line of trade of Major-General Edmands, whom Dr. Smith invested, in the fullness of his might, with absolute power of life and death over his majesty's subjects within his kingdom of Cockney. Well, I am told that the man is an *Apothecary!* So, you see, it was perfectly regular and ruleable in Doctor Smith to send his prescription to an Apothecary to be made up and administered. A plentiful exhibition of lead pills, with powdered salt-petre and charcoal by way of vehicle, was what seemed to this eminent practitioner precisely what the case required. He would naturally like to have tried the virtue of a little blood-letting, inasmuch as Phlebotomy belongs to a higher branch of the Art Medical than simple Pharmacopoly. It was promotion to him. But only think of our condition that day! As if it were not enough to have a Dr. Last for a Mayor, we must have an Abel Drugger for a Commander in Chief! And both of them what are called "heroic practitioners"! It is a special mercy that any of us are left alive.

Poor Dr. Smith has not had that unmixed glorification which he had hoped for. His laurels have distilled (still to speak professionally—for that Apothecary sticks in my imagination)—I say, his laurels have distilled some laurel-water, such as "Donellan of bad renown" made to wash away an obstacle between himself and some ready money. To be sure, Donellan was hanged, and Dr. Smith is not, as yet. Only an eminent member of the bar, Peleg W. Chandler, Esq., by name, and who held the office of City Solicitor for several years, showed how very near the Head of the City came to putting its Neck into a noose. This gentleman (who is a Whig and no sort of an Abolitionist) showed, beyond all cavil, that Mayor Smith's boot-black had just as much authority to give the discretionary powers he did to this pharmaceutical Major-General as he had, and that the said Major-General would have committed murder had his troops killed anybody, as much in the one case as in the other. And if it is proposed to hang the men who were standing outside when Batchelder was killed, because they were aiding and abetting, the same analogy would surely bring the other end of the halter that was to encircle the neck of Major-General Edmands around that of his employer, Dr. Smith. What is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander (I mean nothing personal by this allusion, I beg you will observe) or an old proverb will be non-suited.

You will be shocked to learn that several violent attacks have been made on our much-respected Sims Commissioner by the editor of the *New Bedford Mercury*, with the Reverend Charles Hudson of the Boston *Atlas* for his bottle-holder. The Commissioner was surprised out of the silence he has so religiously observed since he performed the solemn religious and and patriotic duty which will make his name odorous forever—I say he was surprised out of his wonted silence by the facer that unreverend assailant bestowed upon him, and put himself into a posture of defence. This was a pity. Had he only asked my advice (which he should have done), I should have strongly dissuaded the measure. For the *sockdolager* (if that's the way it's spelt) he got in return was a caution, or should have been. But it wasn't—for the Commissioner went in again and did *not* win, by any means. His antagonist got his nob into chancery and gave him his gruel in a way that was shocking to all truly patriotic hearts. I should not advise that editor to venture from behind his oil-casks and show himself in State Street in a hurry. The articles created a profound sensation there. I shall have to address myself to the rescue again, if these unprincipled assaults are repeated. I regard the Sims Commissioner as being in my charge in an especial sense, and I warn all poachers off my manor. My game in this kind I most strictly preserve and allow no interlopers to meddle with it. I was never solicitous of personal popularity (singular as it may seem to you); but it was forced upon me when I did justice, three months ago, to the emotions of Boston on learning that the Sims Commissioner had risked "his personal popularity, his personal safety and his life itself" in the defence of his country against Traitor Tom. I was, beyond question, for a week, the most popular man in the City. My fellow-citizens have never been so passionately fond of me, as then, since my perilous Adventures with the Giant whose name was Sigma, some four years since. Should this *Mercury* compel me to take up the cudgels again in defence of our Commissioner, there is not virtue enough in "NO" to prevent my being made Mayor in the room of Doctor Smith, whether I will or no.

I am happy to say that the Martyr Age of America is not over yet. Miss Martineau was altogether in too great a hurry when she talked about the old Abolition Mob times being our Martyr Age. Not a bit of it. The true Martyrology has yet to be written. Last week, a Meeting of the Stockholders of the Music Hall, in which the Rev. Theodore Parker preaches heresy and sedition, was called to see whether or no that pestilent fellow should not be sent packing with all his rabble rout at his heels. Now, the pathos of this scene lies in the fact that this miscellaneous and mischievous body pay $1,500 *per annum* for the use of the Hall on Sundays. Discreditable as it may appear to the piety and intelligence of Boston, there are not any three ministers in the city that could begin to fill that immense room, so that these substantial citizens were trying to take $1,500 a year out of their own pockets, in order to testify against spiritual wickedness, but they could not succeed. The Suttee was stopped. The victims were torn from under the wheels of Juggernaut. The love of Mammon or some other evil spirit prevailed, and the motion was rejected by a stock vote of 290 to 260, or thereabouts. You will be glad to hear, however, that the sound portion of the proprietors are still determined to press the matter. But there is a powerful impression abroad that the last Meeting was as well packed for the purposes of patriotic piety as one could be, and that the vote at another Meeting would be still more injurious to the interests of religion and our country.

It is shocking to tell, but it is believed that Judge Curtis and Attorney Hallett have failed in procuring indictments against any of the Faneuil Hall miscreants. One cannot but sympathize with those good men under their affliction. Just imagine the emotions of Darius's hungry lions when Daniel was snatched out of their watering mouths! But that was a mere circumstance to the disappointment of these pious patriots. By the way, speaking of Judge Curtis reminds me of a slight correction I feel called upon to make of a statement of the Sims Commissioner. In his letter to the *Mercury* and elsewhere he has magnified, justly, his disinterestedness in sending Sims back for nothing, and magnanimously refusing to touch his lawful Ten Dollars. Now, I insist upon it that our Commissioner was never suspected of doing that holy work for the simple Ten Dollars. Even his worst enemies (supposing it probable that he could have any) gave him credit of aiming at more than that.

It is true that Mr. George Lunt would neither resign nor die; but it was the intention of us Webster men to give Mr. Curtis as good a place as the District Attorneyship, when we had elected Mr. Webster President. And though we did make a slight error in our calculations as to that, still Mr. Benjamin R. Curtis, the brother of the Commissioner, *was* made U. S. Supreme Judge, when Judge Woodbury went to his own place, and has filled the vacancy caused by that lamented event to the entire satisfaction of the appointing powers. This jurist had honourably earned his promotion by his appearing as counsel for the claimant in the famous "Med Case"; by his Speech in favour of the Fugitive Slave Bill, in Faneuil Hall; and by the current belief that he was the chamber counsel of the kidnappers of Sims. But, still, we have faith enough in human nature to believe that the services of the Commissioner had their share in that worthy appointment. I know that his modesty would disclaim any such influence; but I think justice demands that he should not be suffered to hide the light of his good deeds in this naughty world.

D. Y.

DIED.

WELLS.—At Cambridge, Mass., on the 23d ult., of disease of the heart, Hon. Daniel Wells, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, aged 63.

M'KIM.—On the 16th ult., of bronchitis, in the 35th year of his age, Wm. M'Kim, at the house of J. M. M'Kim, in Germantown, Pa.

HOLBROOK.—Near Lynchburgh, Va., by drowning, on the 17th ult., Josiah Holbrook, formerly of Boston, and well known throughout the country for his efforts to promote the cause of Education.

SONTAG.—In Mexico, of cholera, while on her way to the United States, on the 16th ult., Madame Henrietta Sontag (Countess Rossi), the celebrated singer.

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Miscellaneous Department.

SCHAMYL, THE PROPHET WARRIOR OF THE CAUCASUS.

[From an article in the Westminster Review.]

"In the name of Allah, the all-merciful, whose gracious Word flows like the spring before the eyes of the thirsty wanderer in the desert, who has made us the chief pillars of the temple of his faith, and the bearers of the Torch of Freedom! Ye warriors of great and little Kabardah, for the last time I send to remind you of your oath, and to inspire you to war against the unbelieving Muscovites. Many are the messengers I have already sent to you, and the words that I have spoken: but ye have scorned my messengers, and have left my commands unfulfilled. Therefore hath Allah given you over into the hands of your enemies, and your *aouls* (villages) to the sword and to the spoiler; for the Prophet has said, 'The unbelievers, who will nowise believe, shall God deal with as with the worst of the beasts.'

"Say not: we believe, and have always kept holy the teachings of the prophet. Verily, God will punish ye—liars! Say not: we faithfully perform our washings and our prayers, give alms, and fast, as it is written in the Koran. Verily, I tell you, for all this ye shall appear black-faced before the judgment-seat of Allah. The water shall become mud in your hands; your alms, the wages of sin; and your prayers, curses. The true believer has the faith in his heart, and the sword in his hand: for whoso is strong in faith, is strong in battle. But ye are more accursed than our enemies, for they are ignorant, and wander in darkness; but the light of truth has been kindled before you, and ye have not followed it. Wherefore have ye doubted the truth of my mission, and listened to the threats of the enemy than to my admonitions? Was it I who united together the tribes of the mountains, or was it the power of God working through me in wonders? Believe not that God is with the many. He is with the good, and the good are always fewer than the bad. Look about you, and see if my words are not true. Are there not fewer good horses than bad? Are there not fewer roses than weeds? Is there not more mud than pearls? more lice than cattle? Is not gold scarcer than iron? And are we not nobler than gold, and the roses, and the pearls, and all the horses and cattle put together? For all the treasures of the earth pass away; but we are immortal. But if the weeds be more than the roses, shall we, instead of hoeing them out, suffer them till they choke the noble flowers? And if the enemies be more than we, shall we, instead of hewing them down, suffer them till they take us in their snares? Say not: the enemy has conquered Tscherkei, and destroyed Akhulgo, and taken possession of Avaria. When the lightning strikes one tree, do all the others therefore bow their heads and cast themselves down, lest it strike them also? O ye of little faith! would that ye might take example by the green wood! Verily, the trees of the forest might shame you if they had tongues. Wonder not that the unbelievers increase so fast, and send more and more fresh troops into the field to replace those we have slaughtered: for I tell you, that thousands of mushrooms and poisonous weeds shoot out of the earth, while one good tree is growing to maturity. I am the root of the tree of freedom, my Murids are the trunk, and ye are its branches: do not believe that the whole tree will die because one branch rots. Verily, God will hew off the rotten branches, and cast them into hell-fire; for he is a good husbandman. Repent, therefore, and return to the warriors of the faith, and my mercy and protection shall overshadow you. But if you continue to trust to the enticements of the flax-haired christian dogs rather than to my warnings, I will surely fulfil what Khasi-Mollah once promised you. Like dark clouds my troops shall overshadow your *aouls*, and take by force what you refuse to kindness; blood shall mark my path, and fear and desolation shall follow me: for where words suffice not, deeds shall. SCHAMYL."

Such is the translation of a proclamation issued, ten years ago, from his fastnesses in Daghistan, by the Melchisedek of the Caucasus—Sultan Schamyl, "the second prophet of Allah." The "flax-haired christian dogs" are the Russians; and what we propose at present is, to explain who Schamyl is, and to show in what way we are interested in helping him to put down "the mushrooms," and to cherish "the good tree to its maturity."

* * * * *

The khanate of the Kurin is a small province lying at the south-eastern limit of the highlands of Lesghistan towards the Caspian, whose chief place is the aoul of Jarach. The inhabitants are agricultural and pastoral in their habits, and famous for the arms and mail-shirts which they manufacture. Here, in 1823, lived Mohammed the Mollah, the wisest of the Ulema of Daghestan, and cadi or judge of the place. It is an old custom for the Moslem priests to train up disciples, as their successors in the ministry, to spread the doctrines of the Koran far and wide. The Mollah Mohammed was so celebrated as a teacher of "Murschid," and his fame had extended so widely, that disciples or "Murids," gathered about him from all parts. Among these, was a young Bokharian, Khas Mohammed, whose zeal had led him to remain seven years at the feet of the holy Murschid, and whose character had endeared him to all the people of Jarach. But the time had come when the Murid was declared by his teacher to be proficient in the learning of the Arabs and Persians, and worthy of the dignity of an Alim; and he was dismissed to his own country, with the warning verse of the poet Saadi—

"The worst of men is the wise who puts not his wisdom into practice."

A year had passed since Khas Mohammed took his departure; and a change had come over the people of Jarach. The Russians had taken possession of the neighbouring country of Kara-kaitach; had deposed the khan, who fled to Avaria, defiled the mosques, and ill-treated the women; and a strong feeling against the Muscovites had already begun to stir the people of Kurin, when Khas Mohammed suddenly reappeared in the house of his ancient teacher, bringing wondrous reports of the sublime doctrines of one Hadji Ismail, a holy man of Schirwan; listening to whom, Khas Mohammed had forgotten his father-land, and had returned with the sole wish of making his ancient teacher a participator in his good fortune. So Mollah Mohammed and a number of his disciples followed Khas Mohammed to the aoul of Kardonia, in the land of Schirwan, the dwelling-place of Hadji Ismail.

The tenets of Hadji Ismail seem to have consisted mainly in a development of Sunnite Mahommedanism, strongly tinged with the mystic spiritualism of the sect of the Sufis, which some think to have arisen by the engrafting of the quietism of the Brahmins upon the Koran. It is hardly necessary, however, to suppose a foreign origin for Sufism, since similar doctrines have arisen in every church, and in every deeply religious nation.

That a direct revelation of the Infinite in a state of ecstacy produced by the negation of self, is possible to every believer—that this direct union of man with the deity renders every other condition of no importance to those who have attained it—are doctrines which the Sufis share in common with the followers of Molinos and of Jacob Böhme. The state of ecstacy is called h'al by the Sufis; whoso has attained this is one with Allah, and needs no further attention to the requirements of either faith or duty. "Whoso," say the Dabistan, "does not acknowledge that it is indifferent whether he is a Mussulman or a Christian, has not raised himself to the truth, and knows not the essence of being." Let no hasty reader, however, suppose that these doctrines are followed practically by either toleration or profligacy. The Sufi must pass through four stages of spiritual life. In the first, he must without fail keep the *Scharyat*—the law which binds all Moslems alike. But to those stronger spirits whose aspirations are more lofty, a second stage is open, *Tarykat* (the path—the method), when the Slavery of the exact performance of the law is exchanged for the freedom of a strict and spiritual faith. By this path the believer travels higher to the third stage, *Hakykat* (truth), by the strengthening of his powers of inward tuition, whereby he knows ecstatically things as they are. Hence, finally, he passes to the last and highest state, *Maarisat*, the immediate actual confluence with the deity.

But it was not mere questions of doctrine which were discussed between Mollah Mohammed and Hadji Ismail. They were earnest and real men, whose faith had its application to the events around them; and when once Mahommedanism had ceased in their minds to be a matter of dead works, when the crushing narrowness of the mechanical performance of the obligation the *Scharyat*, was replaced by the infinite *path*, which promised scope for the action of all the highest faculties of their minds—then, indeed, they began to see the full meaning of the Russian slough which was gathering round the feet of their mountains; then the instinctive attempt to preserve their liberties was sublimed into an act of duty and of worship. To every acolyte the Hercules choice was offered, on the one hand, of freedom and faith in the infinite progress of his own soul to the Almighty Allah by intellectual ecstacy; on the other, of Slavery and faith in the fourteen orders of nobility, through which, by the help of gewgaw saints and bribery, he might attain to see the face of the Russian padischah, who besotted priests would teach him was God upon earth. It is to the honour of human nature, that Mollah Mohammed returned to Jarach, his doctrines spread like lightning through the land. Two things the Mullahs taught were necessary for all believers—to keep the *Scharyat*, and to destroy the infidels. "All your alms, all your watchings and prayers, all your pilgrimages to Mecca, avail you nought, so long as the eye of a Muscovite looks upon them. Your marriages are bad, your children are bastards, and the Koran is your destruction, so long as there is a Muscovite among you. Who can serve both Allah and the Muscovites."

Pilgrims from all parts of the land thronged to Jarach; and those disciples into whose hearts the Mollah's precepts sank most deeply, gradually acquired the special name of murids (pupils or strivers). The murids made wooden schaskas* for themselves, and in the corner of the Mollah's house was an altar to which, hour by hour, a murid advanced, and turning his face to the east, cried aloud, striking upon the altar—"Moslem! war against the infidel! war against the infidel! Death and destruction to the Giaour!"* And the streets were filled with murids shouting the same cry.

The rumours of these doings soon reached the ears of the ever-active Yermoloff, who ordered Arslan, khan of the Kasi-Kumucks and ruler of Kurin, to possess himself of the person of Mollah Mahommed. Unwilling, however, to sacrifice his popularity by violence to so great a saint, Arslan khan allowed the Mollah to escape into Avaria. In the meanwhile, the war that has raged ever since broke out. The people of Tchetchenia, incited by the murid emissaries of Mollah Mahommed, fell by night upon the fortress Admirhadshi-jurt, on the Terek, and slew every Russian inhabitant. General Grekow, in command of the district, joined by Gen Lissanéwitsch, hastened with a considerable force to cut off the Tchetchenes, and surrounded them. They defended themselves as long as their powder lasted; and then cutting their way, schaska in hand, through the Russian troops, made good their retreat into the woods. The Russian generals, not strong enough to chastise the Tchetchenians, sought to put an end to the outbreak by a convention with the chiefs, whom they summoned to a meeting. About two hundred appeared, headed by a Mollah, who was alone admitted to the conference. Grekow was so ill-advised as to insult him. The Mollah drew his dagger, killed both Grekow and Lissanéwitsch, and wounded several others, before he was bayoneted and cut to pieces by the Russian soldiers.

When these events were reported at headquarters, Yermoloff put himself at the head of a column, and destroyed all the aouls he could reach in Tchetchenia: but having, by the perpetration of frightful cruelties reduced the Tchetchenians to a state of quietness, he was, in 1836, recalled, as it is said, in consequence of a personal spite entertained against him by Nicholas, who had just assumed the Czarship.

Among the most active disciples of Mollah Mahommed was a native of the aoul of Himri, in Avaria, Khasi Mohammed, better known since as Khasi-Mollah. Humri lies on the right bank of the Koissu, in the district of Arrakan, not far from the mouth of the deep gorge formed by the Ticuss-Tau and Ssolo-Tau, perched on a steep rock, whose base is washed by the rapid stream, and surrounded by a threefold wall. Himri seemed a fitting centre of operations, and therefrom, on his return from Jarach, Khasi-Mollah carried out his operations, soon attaining so great an influence, as to render himself the actual chief of the movement, gathering round him troops of murids, and sending them in all directions to rouse the neighbouring tribes.

The task which Khasi-Mollah had set himself was no easy one. The chiefs were jealous of his temporal power; the Mollahs of his spiritual influence; nor could the more cautious and worldly-wise of the Tchetchenians fail to perceive with what frightful odds against them the contest with the Russians would commence. Khasi Mollah, however, had remedies for both these difficulties. In Arrakan lived Sahid Effendi, a Mollah of great repute, high in favour with the Russians, and opposed to the new doctrines. Khasi-Mollah could neither diminish the influence of the old priest, nor win him over. But one night, Sahid Effendi waked up with his house in flames, and found it advisable to be no more seen in that country. After this, the tribes of Gumbet, Andi, and Avaria, came to Khasi-Mollah's side, but the Khaness of Chunsach, the most important place in Avaria, who ruled during the minority of her sons, refuse to forsake the Russian cause. Khasi-Mollah, consequently attacked Chunsach; but was repulsed by the people, whose reverence for their prince—always a most prominent feeling among the Circassians—overcame their inclinations for the cause of the new leader. The latter was much discredited by these repulses, and still more by the advance of General Rosen into the valley, who, however, deceived by the apparently ready submission of the mountaineers, omitted to take possession of Himri, or to strengthen Chunsach; a circumstance which Khasi-Mollah turned to his own account by spreading among the people a report that Allah had struck his enemies with blindness and stupidity. Within a very short time he was at the head of a large army, and defeated Prince Bekowitch, who moved against him. In 1831, Khasi-Mollah destroyed Tarku, and besieged Burnaja, on the Caspian; the latter being only saved with great difficulty and loss by the Russians. He then ravaged the country about the Sulak, defeated General Emanuel, and afterwards devastated Tabasseran. In the autumn, he besieged Derbend; the Russians, however, raised the siege. In November, he utterly destroyed Kuban, the principal town on the Terek.

The year 1832 was destined to be the last of Khasi-Mollah's brilliant career. General Van Rosen, the Russian commander-in-chief, in the hope of putting an end to the war, moved with a strong column over the passes from Temirchanschura, on the eastern flank of Kaitach, and descended upon Himri, overpowering every resistance. Many of Khasi-Mollah's followers, deceived by false messages, forged by the Russians, and circulated among the mountaineers, withdrew, and among them was even Hamsad Beg, his chief supporter, and upon whose assistance he had most reckoned; but his Murids and a few other faithful followers shut themselves up with him in Himri, and awaited the onset of the Russians, well knowing that neither conquest nor flight were possible.

The Russian artillery began the attack by battering down the high towers, common in the Caucasian aouls, and burying beneneath their ruins, chanting verses of the Koran as they fell, their Murid defenders. But the Russians did not obtain possession even of the shattered stones of Himri until the desperate Moslems were cut down and bayoneted to the last man; and when, at last, they could call the day their own, they found only the corpse of Khasi-Mollah surrounded by those of sixty of his followers. The Mollah himself bore no arms; but the Russian bullets had found him as he sank upon his knees, stretching forth one hand to heaven in last appeal against the oppressors. At his feet lay his chief Murid, SCHAMYL with two bullets and a bayonet wound in his body, apparently dead also. The Russians carried about the body of Khasi-Mollah in triumph, leaving the Murid where he lay.

A few months afterward, we find him the active lieutenant of Khasi-Mollah's successor; but the manner of his escape is a mystery which he himself has never explained, and his followers firmly believe it to have been miraculous.

After the death of Khasi-Mollah, the indefatigable Mollah Mahommed hastened to consecrate as his successor, Hamsad Beg, the most prominent of the chiefs who acted with him; but who, as we have seen, deserted him at Himri. Hamsad Beg, however, had neither the religious zeal nor the military genius of his predecessor or successor; and his short and stormy rule constitutes little more than an episode in the history of the war. His efforts were directed, not so much directly against the Russians, as against those tribes of his own people who were either lukewarm in their support, or openly hostile to him. Pachu Biké, the Khaness of Chunsach, with three sons, still held for the Russians: and it was impossible to undertake any important operation against the latter while the chiefs of half Avaria were favourably disposed towards them. And there was another motive which strongly urged the expediency of striking a blow in this direction; it was time to decide whether the habitual reverence of this tribe for its prince, could not be made to give way to the spiritual authority of the Murschid. Hamsad Beg made the experiment by marching an army against Chunsach, and then enticing two of the sons of Pachu Biké, Omar Khan and Abu Nunzal, into his camp, where they were treacherously murdered. Hamsad Beg then took possession of the aoul without opposition, and decapitated Pachu Biké herself. Her third son, Bulatsch Khan, a boy, was adopted by the father of one of the chiefs slain in the *melée* occasioned by the murder of his brothers.

*Swords of the Caucasus.

But, although Hamsad Beg had effectually dissipated the notion of the inviolablity of the persons of the princes of Avaria, he fell a sacrifice to the still more deeply rooted prejudice of the blood-feud, the *vendetta*. Osman and Hadji Murad, foster-brothers of Omar Khan, excited a formidable conspiracy against Hamsad Beg, and assassinated him in the mosque of Chunsach. A general massacre of the Murids followed, and only some thirty contrived to escape to a wooden fortification—the Castle of the Khans—where they desperately defended themselves. Their opponents, however, fired the place and all perished save Schamyl, who again mysteriously escaped; and, placing himself at the head of the scattered forces of Hamsad Beg, attacked Hadji Murad, who, seeking alliance with the Russians, had strengthened himself in Chunsach. The first assault, however, failed, and in a second, Schamyl was again obliged to withdraw with loss; but Hadji Murad finding it would be impossible to hold out, despatched pressing messages for help to Rosen, the Russian commander, who immediately made the necessary arrangements for supporting him. Schamyl's counter-measure was to send half-a-dozen of his emissaries with orders to seek out Bulatsch Khan, cut off his head, and cast it into the Koissu—a mandate which they punctually performed. Russian help could not now, at any rate, profess to replace the legitimate heir to the Khanate of Avaria on his throne.

And now the great hero of the Caucasus, who from this year, 1834, till the present time has baffled the whole forces of Russia, took his legitimate place, and Schamyl, the devoted Murid, became Imam and Sultan of the Eastern Caucasus, "the second prophet of Allah." Like Khasi-Mollah, a native of Himri, and born in 1798, Schamyl grew up amidst all those influences which would best fit him to be the future leader of his people. From his earliest childhood, his silent earnest ways, intense determination and love of knowledge, distinguished him among his fellows, and Spartan habits and a strong will compensated the natural defects of a delicate physical organization. He would shut himself up for weeks in shame and rage if defeated in the games of the youth of Daghestan; and having once been set upon and severely wounded by a number of his rivals, the legend runs, that he brought himself to the point of death rather than reveal what he considered his disgrace. To one human being only is he said ever to have yielded his implicit confidence and obedience—Dschelal Eddin, the Mallah, his teacher in all sacred lore—who early instilled into his mind the philosophy of the Arabs, and initiated him into the mysteries of Sufism. Dschelal Eddin still lives at a great age, and receives from the Sultan prophet the same obedience and reverence as he had won from the boy.

"Schamyl is of middle statute, has fair hair, grey eyes overshadowed by thick well-marked eyebrows, a regular well-formed nose, and a small mouth. A peculiar fairness and delicacy of skin distinguishes his countenance from that of his fellow countrymen, and his feet and hands are singularly well shaped. The apparent immovability of his arms in walking indicates the determination of his character. His manner is noble and dignified. Perfectly master of himself, he exercises a silent influence over all who come into contact with him. A stern impassivity, which is undisturbed even in moments of the greatest danger, is his characteristic expression. A condemnation to death falls from his lips with the same calmness as he shows in conferring on a brave Murid the sabre of honour won in some sanguinary fight. With traitors or other offenders, whose death he has once determined upon, he converses without manifesting a shade of angry or revengeful feeling. He regards himself as simply the instrument in the hands of a higher power, and holds, with the Sufis, that all his thoughts and decisions are the immediate inspiration of God. His eloquence is as fiery and persuasive as his ordinary manner is calm and commanding. 'Flames sparkle from his eyes and flowers are scattered from his lips,' said Bersek Bey, with whom Schamyl lived a few days after the taking of Akhulgo, when he resided for a time among the chiefs of the Dschighé and Ubiché tribes, in the hope of raising the Western Caucasians against the Russians."*

Schamyl did not acquire his present exclusive rule without some difficulty. The removed Mollah Mahommed—the Samuel of the tribes—had died before the assassination of Hamsad Beg, and the choice of his successor, therefore, was necessarily left to the popular voice. For a long time Schamyl's ascendancy was imperillled by Taschaw-Hadji, a chief of great influence, but the latter gave his final adhesion and submission to Schamyl in 1838. The division in the Caucasian camp was, however, while it lasted, of great service to the Russians. General Von Rosen, when Hadji Murad applied for assistance sent a column under the command of Gen. Lasskoi, who possessed himself of Himri, but his further proceedings were stopped by Schamyl, who stormed the place and utterly defeated him. Kluke von Klugenau, an Austrian in the Russian service, hastened upon this, over the mountains from Temirchanschura with a considerable force, gathered together the remnants of Lasskoi's army, and having formed a junction with Hadji Murad in Chunsach, conferred the Khanate of Avaria upon the son of Arslan Khan; and leaving a number of Russian post in Avaria, returned to Temirchanschura. During the seven years that Hadji Murad remained on their side, the Russians thus retained a means of access into Avaria which was of the utmost importance for their operations; and, in fact, the great contest between Schamyl and themselves was for the possession of that country. An expedition to Schamyl's for this end, in 1836, failed. In 1837, General Fesi, who had strongly fortified Chunsach, destroyed Akhulgo, a fortified aoul on the Koissu, which was defended by Ali Beg, one of the chief Murids, and besieged Schamyl himself in Tiletli, a strong aoul in Gumbet. The prophet, however, defended himself so well that the Russians could only obtain possession of one half of the aoul, and winter coming on, General Fesi, offered terms, whereby, on Schamyl's swearing fealty to the Emperor, he on the other hand, promised to evacuate Avaria.

Schamyl, who fully holds the great Romanist doctrine, that no faith is to be held with infidels, and who, furthermore, firmly believes that the Russians are not men at all, but *feræ naturæ*, and half devils, professed himself ready to swear anything, provided only that neither Murids nor Russians were witnesses. The new, Khan of Avaria, Arslan Khan's son, therefore, was deputed by the Russian general to meet Schamyl on the highest rock which separated the Russian from the Caucasin half of the aoul, and there the ceremony, regarded by both sides as a mere convenient sham, was gone through.

Bodenstedt amusingly illustrates the manner in which this affair was turned into a great victory by the Russians.

"General Fesi, who, as we have seen, could, by force of arms, obtain no decisive advantage over Schamyl, would, without the convention, have been obliged, as the winter approached, to retreat with nothing done, and his report to the general commanding in chief would, in a few words, have run thus: I have, in the course of this campaign, possessed myself, at considerable sacrifices, of various fortified places and aouls, only, unfortunately, I have been obliged to give them up again, for want of provisions and stores, lest I and my brave soldiers should die of hunger or be cut off by the enemy, &c.

"This report, somewhat trimmed and sweetened, would have been sent to the commander-in-chief to Petersburg, and the Emperor would have frowned over it, and said: 'This General Fesi is a useless fellow who knows nothing of warfare; he must be pensioned off, or made curator at some university.'

"And the general would have found himself obliged to begin a learned career in his old age.† This he avoided by his diplomatic dealing with Schamyl, which gave affairs quite another turn.

"In his report to the commander-in-chief, General Fesi thus states the results of the campaign of 1837: 'A fortress had been built in Chunsach: all Avaria pacified; a number of previously unconquered mountain tribes subjected; many aouls and fortified places destroyed; Tiletli taken by storm, and Schamyl so hard pressed that he swore peace and fealty to the Emperor forever and ever.' . . . :

"So in Tiflis and Petersburg every one believed that Schamyl had submitted, and that Daghestan was ready to be annexed; and General Fesi, who had performed this fine service, was duly loaded with orders and praises."

Schamyl, on his side, issued a proclamation to the various tribes, a part of which we subjoin:

"Ye have seen how small was the number of our warriors in comparison with the hosts of the enemy, and yet they gave way to us, for strength is with the believers. The Russians have taken Akhulgo and have razed its walls. Allah permitted this, to chastise you for your unbelief, for he knews what you think and all your projects. But I mocked the power of all your enemies, and drove them from Aschiltach, and smote them at Tiletli, and turned their efforts into shame. When after that the Pacha (General Fesi) with his great army drew near Tiletle to revenge the slain, and when, in spite of our brave resistance he succeeded in taking possession of half the aoul, so that day after day we looked for the last decisive battle then suddenly, Allah lamed his arm and darkened his sight, so that he could not use his advantages, but hastened away by the same road as he came. No one drove our enemies save their evil consciences, for their unbelief made them fear, and they fled because they dare not stay within sight of the believers. . . . .

"The looks of the Russians are falsehood and their words are lies; we must destroy the works of their hands, and slay them wherever we find them, in the house or in the field—by force or by cunning—so that their swarms vanish from the face of the earth; for they multiply like lice, and are as poisonous as the snake that crawls in the steppe Muhan. Ye have seen that the anger of God follows them."

* Bodenstedt, p. 416.

† Almost all the curators of universities and directors of gymnasia in Russia are invalid generals and colonels.

The sole real advantage which the Russians derived from this campaign, was a better knowledge of the country than they previously possessed. On the other hand, not only did the most important mountain tribes, struck with admiration and fear of Schamyl, join his standard, but even his redoubtable rival, Taschaw-Hadji, proffered his submission to the Imam in the presence of the whole army. Through the entire year 1838, the Russians remained inactive, while Schamyl employed himself in extending and consolidating his power over the northern part of the Desghian highlands—Andi, Gumbet, Koissubui and Tchetchenia. Schamyl took care to develope still further than his predecessors, the vast means of influence afforded by the corps of Murids, the favoured disciples, who immediately surrounded his person. Soul and body, these enthusiasts were at the disposal of the Imam—and there was not a district unrepresented by one or more of the energetic enthusiasts, who not only were the means of affording exact information on all the points of their leader, but directly, or by means of their blood-relations, could exercise an important influence in the councils of every tribe. If any aoul resisted persuasion, sooner or later the hand of Schamyl was upon them, and their lands wasted, their flocks and herds driven away, they lamented their obduracy in the ashes of their dwellings.

The Imam now established his head quarters in the Aoul Akhulgo, a place built upon rocks, so inaccessible and whimsical in shape, that Bodenstedt calls them "a fantastical conception of the devil, which God had allowed him to hew out in stone to terrify mankind." Here Schamyl accumulated provisions and ammunition. Taught by the effects of artillery, by which the high towers of ordinary aouls are rendered more formidable to their defenders than to any one else, and it is said, assisted by Polish deserters, Schamyl fortified Akhulgo with trenches, earthen parapets and covered ways, and improved upon the ordinary construction of the saklias, or stone huts of the country, which are commonly half sunk in natural excavations, by converting those of Akhulgo into regular casemates.

The year 1838 was employed in these preparations unhindered by the Russians; but in 1838, the severest conflicts which had yet occurred between the Caucasians and their enemies took place. General Grabbe, an active officer, had succeeded to the command of the left flank of the army of the Caucasus, and determined to strike a decisive blow, concentrated a force of nine battalions, with seventeen piece of artillery, and marched to attack Akhulgo itself. A division which was attempted by the Tchetchenians failed, and Schamyl was defeated in endeavouring to make a stand at Burtania, on the north side of the Andi range. The Russians crossed the latter, and Schamyl fought a second bloody battle, in which he lost fifteen hundred men, at Arguani, on the southern slope of Andi. Followed by the invaders, Schamyl now retreated over the Andi Koissu and shut himself up in Akhulgo, accompanied by all his chief Murids and followers. An attack on the rear of the Russian force by the renegade, Achwerdu Mohammed, was repulsed, and Akhulgo was closely invested by the Russians, who at the same time possessed themselves of the rich village of Tcherkei, at the mouth of the valley of the Koissu, and of the right bank of that river. Akhulgo was invested on the 12th of June, but it was not until the 16th July, that Grabbe, finding the defenders were not to be starved out, determined to storm the place. The storming party came back with a loss of two-thirds their number. The inflexible Grabbe, however, kept up a hotter fire than ever, and when Schamyl in despair offered to treat, told him that he would only take his submission on condition of his own son being given as hostage of his sincerity.

Schamyl, who found he had no longer a General Fesi to deal with, carried the negotiation no further, but awaited the next assault, which took place on the 17th of August, when the Russians succeeded in obtaining possession of the out work of the fortress. For the ensuing four days, Akhulgo was a scene of horror. In a succession of attacks, the Russian soldiers displayed that ferocious bravery which they evince whenever sufficient blood has been shed to wash the serf out of their hearts—while the mountaineers, mad with rage and despair, and hopeless of life, made their last aim the destruction of as many as possible of the accursed Muscovites—the very women fighting like tigresses. A Russian eye-witness says:

"Shortly before the end of the fight, following Captain (now Colonel) Schultz, the boldest among the brave, at the head of the remains of my battalion, I climbed a steep assent. The firing from above had ceased; the wind dispersed the dense clouds of smoke which, like a curtain, hung between us and the fortress, and over my head I saw a number of Circassian woman standing on a little flat platform in the face of the rock. The closer and closer approach of our troops showed them too surely their fate, but determined not to fall alive into our hands, they spent their last strength in destroying their enemies. Surrounded by the smoke, which grew clearer as we approached, they looked like avenging spirits born of the clouds, and scattering fear and destruction from the mountain side. In the heat of the fight, they had thrown off their upper garments, and their long thick hair streamed in wild disorder over their half bared necks and bosoms. With superhuman exertion, four of these women contrived to roll down a vast stone, which came thundering towards us, passing within a few feet of me, and crushing several of my soldiers. I saw a young woman, who till then had been, with fixed eyes, a quiet spectato of the bloody tragedy, suddenly grasp the little child that clung to her garments; I saw her dash its head to pieces against a projecting rock, and hurling it, with a wild shriek, down the abyss, leap after it. Many of the other women followed her example."*

Akhulgo was taken, but Schamyl was not to be found in it, dead or alive. The Russian officers, however, had seen him, surrounded by his Murids, in the thickest of the fight, and knew he must be there. After awhile, intelligence was received that he and two or three of his Murids were concealed in a cave excavated in a face of the cliff overlooking the Koissu, permitting of access only by a ladder, which they had drawn after them. A considerable body of men, horse and foot, was immediately set to watch the mouth of the cave, when, on the first dark night, the guard observed a small raft of planks being very carefully lowered by a rope into the Koissu; a Murid followed, who, after appearing to look carefully in all directions, made a signal; then followed another; and at last came a third in the white garb of Schamyl. The raft was then cut adrift, and the whole party dashed down the stream of the Koissu. In an instant, the Russians, who had carefully watched the whole proceedings, rushed upon them. The infantry fired from the bank, and the Cossack cavalry waded and swam their horses into the Koissu. The little crew of the raft after defending itself with tenacity, was soon cut and shot down; but when the Russians examined their corpses, Schamyl was not there. While every one's attention had been drawn from the cave, he had lowered himself by the rope, and swimming the Koissu, had plunged into the forests of the opposite bank. The devotion of his Murids had saved the life and the cause of the prophet.

Fifteen hundred dead lay in the ruins of Akhulgo, and six hundred prisoners, mostly wounded, were taken by the Russians. Even Schamyl's great heart appears to have given way under the weight of such calamities; for in September, we find him offering from his retreat in the forest of Itchkeria, on his own part and on that of Taschaw-Hadji and Schwaib Mollah, submission to the Russians, and willing to give two of his own sons as hostage in pledge of his sincerity. General Grabbe, however, refused to enter into any arrangement, unless Schamyl would consent to reside in some aoul named by him, and the negotiations ceased; the Russians, who does not seem to have properly understood Schamyl's importance, contenting himself with setting a price of a hundred ducats on his head.

(To be concluded next week.)

*Bodenstedt, pp. 449, 450.

SLAVES AT SOUTHAMPTON.—There are now at Southampton eighteen self-emancipated negroes, with five children belonging to them, from the island of Cuba. The adults were kidnapped from Lagos, and are now about to return there. They were not all kidnapped at one time, but became acquainted with each other in Slavery, and associated together from belonging to the same part of Africa. Mr. Joseph Clark, a member of the Society of Friends, in Southampton, has taken charge of them in that town, and has collected from day to day among his friends funds for their support, and is endeavouring to interest the English government to send them to Africa free. They prefer going to Lagos rather than to Liberia or Sierra Leone. They are very timid, and fearful least the ship in which they go out to Africa should be captured, and they be forced again into Slavery. There are about eighty self-emancipated negroes now in Cuba waiting opportunities to reach this country, on their way to Africa.—*London Inquirer.*

THE PRIMITIVE MAN.

I HOLD it to be morally impossible for God to have created, in the beginning, such men and women as we find the human race, in their physical condition, now to be. Examine the book of Genesis, which contains the earliest annals of the human family. As is commonly supposed, it comprises the first twenty-three hundred and sixty-nine years of human history. With child-like simplicity, this book describes the infancy of mankind. Unlike modern histories, it details the minutest circumstances of social and individual life. Indeed it is rather a series of biographies than a history. The false delicacy of modern times did not forbid the mention of whatever was done or suffered. And yet, over all that expanse of time—for more than one-third part of the duration of the human race—not a single instance is recorded of a child borne blind, or deaf, or dumb, or idiotic, or malformed in any way! During the whole period, not a single case of a natural death in infancy, or childhood, or early manhood, or even of middle manhood is to be found. Not one man or woman died of disease. The simple record is, "and he died," or, he died "in a good old age, and full of years," or, he was "old and full of days." No epidemic, nor even endemic disease prevailed, showing that they died the natural death of healthy men, and not the unnatural death of distempered ones. Through all this time (except in the single case of Job, in his age, and then only for a day or two before his death) it does not appear that any man was ill, or that any old lady or young lady ever fainted. Bodily pain from disease is nowhere mentioned. No cholera infantum, scarlatina, measles, small-pox—not even a toothache! So extraordinary a thing was it for a son to die before his father, that an instance of it is deemed worthy of special notice; and this first case of the reversal of nature's law was two thousand years after the creation of Adam. See how this reversal of nature's law has for us become the law; for how rare is it now for all the children of a family to survive the parents. Rachel died at the birth of Benjamin; but this is the only case of puerperal death mentioned in the first twenty-four hundered years of the sacred history; and even this happened during the fatigues of a patriarchal journey, when passengers were not wafted along in the saloons of railcar or steamboat. Had Adam, think you, tuberculous lungs? Was Eve flat-chested, or did she cultivate the serpentine line of grace in a curved spine? Did Nimrod get up in the morning with a furred tongue, or was he tormented with the dyspepsia? Had Esau the gout or hepatitis? Imagine how the tough old Patriarchs would have looked at being asked to subscribe for a lying-in hospital, or an asylum for lunatics, or an eye and ear infirmary, or a school for idiots or deaf-mutes. What would their eagle-vision and swift-footedness have said to the project of a blind asylum or an orthopedic establishment? Did they suffer any of these revenges of nature against false civilization? No! Man came from the hand of God so perfect in his bodily organs, so defiant of cold and heat, of drought and humidity, so surcharged with vital force, that it took more than two thousand years of the combimed abominations of appetite and ignorance; it took successive ages of outrageous excess and debauchery, to drain of his electric energies and make him even accessible to disease; and then it took ages more to breed all these vile distempers which now nestle, like vermin, in every organ and fibre of our bodies!

During all this time, however, the fatal causes were at work, which wore away and finally exhausted the glorious and abounding vigour of the pristine race. At least as early as the third generation from Adam, polygamy began. Intermarriages were all along the order of the day. Even Abraham married his half sister. The basest harlotry was not beneath one of the Patriarchs. Whole peoples, like the Moabites and Amorites, were the direct fruit of combined drunknness and incest between father and daughters. The highest pleasures and forces of the race gradually narrowed down into appetite and incontinence. At length, its history became almost too shocking to be referred to. If its greatest men, its wisest men, its God favoured men, like David, could be guilty of murder for the sake of adultery, or, like Solomon, could keep a seraglio of a thousand wives and concubines, what blackness can be black enough to paint the portraits of the people they ruled, and the children they begat!

After the Exodus, excesses rapidly developed into diseases. First came cutaneous distempers—leprosy, boils, elephantiasis, &c.—the common effort of nature to throw visceral impurities to the surface. As early as King Asa, that right royal malady, the gout, had been invented. Then came consumptions, and the burnig ague, and disorders of the visceral organs, and pestilences, or, as the Bible expresses it, "great plagues and of long continuance, and sore sickness and of long continuance;" until, in the time of Christ, we see how diseases of all kinds had become the common lot of mankind, by the crowds that flocked to him to be healed. And so frightfully, so disgracefully numerous have diseases now become, that if we were to write down their names, in the smallest legible hand, on the smallest bits of paper, there would not be room enough on the human body to paste the labels.—*Extract: Horace Mann's Inaugural Address.*

MR. AND MRS. SPARROWGRASS RETIRE FROM THE CITY TO ENJOY RURAL LIFE.

WHEN Mrs. Sparrowgrass and I moved into the country, with our heads full of fresh butter and cool crisp radishes for tea; with ideas entirely lucid respecting milk, and a looseness of calculation as to the number in family it would take a good laying hen to supply with fresh eggs every morning; when Mrs. Sparrowgrass and I moved into the country, we found some preconceived notions had to be abandoned and some departures made from the plans we had laid down in the little back parlour in avenue G.

One of the first achievements in the country is early rising! with the lark, with the sun, while the dew is on the grass, "under the open eye-lids of the morn," and so forth. Early rising! What can be done with five or six o'clock in town? What may not be done at these hours in the country, with the hoe, the rake, the dibble, the spade, the watering-pot? To plant, prune, drill, transplant, graft, train and sprinkle! Mrs. S. and I agreed to rise *early* in the country.

Early rising in the country is not an instinct; it is a sentiment, and must be cultivated.

A friend recommended me to send to the south side of Long Island for some very prolific potatoes, the real hippopotamus breed. Down went my man, and what with expenses of horse-hire, tavern bills, toll-gates, and breaking a wagon, the hippopotami cost as much apiece as pine-apples. They were fine potatoes though, with comely features and large lanlanguishing eyes, that promised increase of family without delay. As I worked my own garden (for which I hired a landscape gardener at $2 per day to give me instructions), I concluded that the object of my first experience in early rising should be the planting of the hippopotamuses. I accordingly rose next morning at five, and it rained! The next, and it rained! It rained for two weeks! We had splendid potatoes every day for dinner. "My dear," said I to Mrs. Sparrowgrass, "where did you get those fine potatoes?" "Why," said she, innocently, "out of that basket from Long Island!" The last of the hippopotamuses were before me, peeled and boiled, and mashed and baked, with a nice thin brown crust on the top!

I was more successful afterwards. I did get some fine seed potatoes in the ground. But something was the matter: at the end of the season, I did not get as many out as I put in.

Mrs. Sparrograss, who is a notable housewife, said to me, one day, "Now, my dear, we shall soon have plenty of eggs, for I have been buying a lot of young chickens." There they are, each one with as many feathers as a grasshopper, and a chirp not louder. Of course we looked forward with pleasant hopes to the period when the first cackle should announce the milk-white egg warmly deposited in the hay which we had provided abundantly. They grew finely, and one day I ventured to remark that our hens had remarkly large combs, to which Mrs. Sparrowgrass replied, "Yes, indeed, she had observed that; but if I wanted to have a real treat, I ought to get up early in the morning and hear them crow." "Crow," said I, faintly, "our hens crowing! Then, by 'the cock that crowed in the morn to wake the priest all shaven and shorn,' we might as well give up all hopes of having eggs," said I; "for, as sure as you live, Mrs. Sparrowgrass, our hens are all roosters!" And so they were roosters! that grew up and fought with the neighbours' chickens until there was not a whole pair of eyes on either side of the fence.

A *dog* is a good thing to have in the country. I have one which I raised from a pup. He is a good stout fellow, and a hearty barker and feeder. The man of whom I bought him said he was a thorough-bred, but he began to have a mongrel look about him. He is a good watch dog though, for the moment he sees any suspicious-looking person about the premises he comes right into the kitchen and gets behind the stove. At first we kept him in the house, and he scratched all night to get out. Then we turned him out, and he scratched all night to get in. Then we tied him up at the back of the garden, and he howled so that our neighbour shot at him twice before daybreak. Finally, we gave him away, and he came back; and now he is just recovering from a fit, in which he has torn up the patch that had been sown for our spring radishes.

A good strong gate is a necessary article for your garden. A good strong heavy gate, with a dislocated hinge, so that it will neither open nor shut. Such a one had I last year. The grounds before my fence are in common, and all the neighbours' cows pasture there. I remarked to Mrs. S., as we stood at the window in June last, how placid and picturesque the cattle looked as they strolled about cropping the green herbage. Next morning I found the innocent creatures in my garden. They had not left a green thing in it. The corn in the milk, the beans on the poles, the young cabbages, the tender lettuce, even the thriving shoots on my young fruit trees, had vanished. And there they were, looking quietly on the ruin they had made. Our watch-dog, too, was fore-gathering with them. It was too much, so I got a large stick and drove them all out, except a young heifer, whom I chased all over the flower-beds, breaking down my trellises, my woodbines and sweet briers, my roses and petunias, until I cornered her in the hot-bed. I had to call assistance to extricate her from the sashes, and her owner sued me for damages and recovered. I believe I shall move into town.—*Knickerbocker, for June.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

MISS Frederika Bremer has written a warm appeal to the Swedish parliament in favour of the Jews, who are now subject in Sweden to innumerable injuries. In Denmark and in Norway they are entirely free.

—— AN ELDERLY EDITOR.—The *Chronicle* says: "John B. Gough has again been before a London audience. Our own opinion is decided. Since the days of *Cromwell, we have heard* no such orator for the masses."

—— A medal has been struck in Paris to commemorate the triple alliance of France, England, and Turkey. It bears the motto—"Catholicism, Protestantism, Islamism—God protects them!"

—— NERO AND NICHOLAS.—After the burning of Rome it is said that Emperor Nero was found playing on the fiddle. Emperor Nicholas, it seems, has been taking a leaf out of his music book; for after the burning of Odessa, it most certainly has been found he played the liar.—*Punch.*

—— The *Literary Gazette*, commenting upon the list of births, deaths, and marriages, which appears in the *Times*, observes, that the custom of advertising the marriage of private persons in the newspapers only dates from about a century back. When first practised it caused much merriment among the wits of the coffee-houses and clubs.

—— DON'T YOU WISH YOU MAY GET IT?—We notice the offer of one thousand pounds' reward for the discovery of a new material from which paper can be manufactured. Some infatuated person has suggested the bark of trees, owing, no doubt, to its associations with leaves: while another jocular discoverer names hemp, as likely to produce the best noosepaper.—*Diogenes (London).*

—— A DANGEROUS TRUTH.—The secret of Dante's struggle through life was in the reckless sarcasm of his answer to the Prince of Verona, who asked him how he could account for the fact, that, in the household of princes, the court fool was in greater favour than the philosopher. "Similarity of mind," said the fierce genius; "all over the world it is the source of friendship."

—— THE STARS ONLY SHINE.—A new book attributed to Dr. Whewell, insists that our little globe is the only inhabited world among the orbes of immensity. It undertakes to demonstrate that the glory of the heavenly bodies is all illusion—that they are in reality in the crudest condition—that there is not the most distant probability that they shall ever be fit for the habitation of intelligent beings—that man is totally distinct from all other races of beings, and is absolutely, essentially, and forever superior to and distinct from the lower animals—and that besides he will, in all probability, be renewed and elevated by supernatural intervention.

—— THE CZAR A "MACGREGOR."—A correspondent of the *Scotsman* gives the following, in proof that the Russian Autocrat is of Highland extraction: "The Emperor Paul was in London, when one day driving in his carriage through Hyde Park, he observed a lady, in the bloom of youth and beauty, riding past him on a Highland shelty. He stopped his carriage, made inquiry about her, found out who she was, got introduced to her father, and finally to herself, paid frequent visits to her at her father's house, was so much captivated by her beauty, accomplishments, and unassuming manners, that he offered her marriage, was accepted, and after all preliminaries were settled, was some time after privately married to her. She went with him to Russia, and in time became the mother of the present Emperor of all the Russias. The reader will wonder who this was; in answer I have to say that she was none other than the beautiful daughter of MacGregor, the Highland farmer of Bridge of Turk."

—— ILLNESS OF FATHER MATHEW.—A Dublin paper says of Father Mathew that: "Exhausted in purse and in person, he lies pining in Cork, his native city, and with no chance of checking the speedy process of dissolution, save that afforded by breathing a foreign atmosphere. The warm and genial air, and the equable temperature of the south of Europe, is what alone can prolong his life, or communicate to his wornout nervous system that soothing feeling necessary to make the consciousness of life at all pleasurable to the invalide. And yet, simple and natural as this remedy for one so circumstanced, it is, we understand, entirely beyond his reach. Owing to the liberality without limit with which he has lavished his private means in the cause of his country, he is now almost penniless, and overwhelmed with debt. The very pension which he enjoyed from the British Government is absorbed in paying the policy of insurance on his life, and resources or friends to do that which is indispensable at this hour of need he seems not to have. What every individual in Ireland with the requisite means should be proud to do, no man steps forward to undertake."

A subscription, however, has been started in behalf of the Apostle of Temperance, which will doubtless give him the requisite relief.

—— The Napiers are descended from the ancient Thanes of Lennox, but assumed the name of Napier from the following events: "One of the ancient earls of Lennox had three sons; the eldest succeeded him in the earldom, the second was named Donald, and the third Gilchrist. The then King of Scotland being engaged in war, and having convoked his subjects to battle, the Earl of Lennox was called on, amongst others, to send such forces as he could collect to the king's assistance, which he accordingly did, keeping his eldest son with him at home, but putting his men under the command of the younger brother (Donald). The battle went hard with the Scots, who were not only forced to lose ground, but were actually running away, when Donald snatched his father's standard from the bearer, charged the enemy with the Lennox men, changed the fortune of the day, and obtained a victory. After the battle, as the custom was, every one reported his acts, when the king said, "Ye have all done valiantly, but there is one among you who hath nae pier" (that is, no equal), and calling Donald to him, commanded him to change his name from Lennox to Napier, and bestowed upon him the lands of Gosford and the lands of Fife as a reward for his services."

—— SEMI-DRAPED FIGURES.—It may be proper to take notice of the prejudice many people have against naked figures. It is difficult to discover any settled rules of propriety in the different modes of dress, as all nations and ages have fluctuated with regard to their notions of fashion in this matter. The Greek statues of the Laocoon, Apollo, Meleager, Hercules, the fighting and dying Gladiator, and the Venus de Medici, though altogether without drapery, have surely nothing in them offensive to modesty—nothing immoral. On the contrary, looking at these figures, the mind of the spectator is taken up with the surprising beauty or sublimity of the personage—his great strength, vigorous, and manly character, or with the pains and agonies that so feelingly discover themselves throughout the whole work. It is not in showing or concealing the form that modesty or the want of it depends: it arises entirely from the choice and intentions of the artist himself. The Greeks and other great designers gave into this practice of representing the figures undraped, in order to show, in its full extent, the idea of character they mean to establish. If it was beauty, they show it to you in all the limbs; if strength, the same; and the agonies of the Laocoon are as discernable in his foot as in his face. This pure and naked nature speaks a universal language, which is understood and valued in all times and countries, even where the Grecian dress, language and manners are neither regarded nor known. It is worth observing, that many of the fair sex do sometimes betray themselves by their over-delicacy (which is the want of all true delicacy) in this respect. But I am ashamed to combat such silly affectations: they are beneath men who have either head or heart—they are unworthy of women who have either education or simplicity of manners—they would disgrace even waiting-maids and sentimental man-milliners."—*Mrs. Jameson's "Hand Book."*